UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CERTAIN AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

As Inferred from Geographical Distribution

DANIEL SUTHERLAND DAVIDSON

A THESIS

IN ANTHROPOLOGY

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
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INTRODUCTION

The theoretical questions involved in the study of Australian ethnology have constituted a set of problems since the very beginning of European exploration and colonization of that continent. At first glance one might expect that no great difficulties should be encountered in an attempt to determine the cultural and physical affinities of a people characterized by such a fair homogeneity of race and by such a comparatively simple material culture as are the Australians. This notion is soon dispelled, however, when one realizes that in spite of the great deal of attention which has been given to these questions, we still seem to be but little nearer the ultimate objectives of realization than we were at the offset. Although it is true that Australia has received considerable consideration from scholars the world over, it must be pointed out that with few exceptions, their methods of approach have been from theoretical standpoints in which the already collected data have been sifted and resifted over and over again. Very little new information has been brought forth from Australia during the last two decades and so it is possible that the lack of agreement expressed in the conclusion of various students may be due, in part, to the insufficient amount of requisite information. On the other hand, the two main theories which have been applied to Australian questions, the Kulturekreis theory and the social evolutionary hypothesis, may be partly or even inherently at fault since there are many discrepancies in the conclusions reached which they do not explain or which they disregard entirely. Due to the aforementioned lack of adequate data, the consideration of a great many points of ethnological interest does not seem warranted at the present time and as a result we should forestall any rigid conclusions in a great many cases until Australia is better known ethnographically. However, in spite of the many wide gaps which exist in our information for the continent as a whole, it would seem permissible to draw some conclusions, if caution is used. Several regions are even at the present time totally unknown, others very poorly known, nevertheless, in respect to a few traits, we seem to possess sufficient data to allow for their consideration. Indeed, there are several traits which are continental in scope, the limits of which have been quite accurately determined. As a result it would

seem permissible to discuss the various phenomena which appear to be responsible for the observed distributions at the present time with a view of unraveling their past history by throwing whatever light possible upon the point of origin of each and the subsequent geographical developments which each has undergone. It seems quite obvious that with the kind and amount of information at our disposal, distributional studies do offer at least some hope of finality in understanding. In the following presentation, therefore, I would like to reopen for discussion some problems which already have received much consideration, but which I believe to be still subject to controversy.

It seems unnecessary to say that there is only one true history of development in Australia. This truth then should be capable of substantiation from many different angles of approach. If my conclusions do not agree with those reached by other investigators, it stands to reason that all cannot be right and the duty falls to those who may subsequently review this material to prove or disprove the claims made. To my mind the true explanations have not yet been found for the Australian cultural manifestations and so the field is still open. I realize, too, that although many solutions have been offered to explain Australian appearances, all have held favor only for a time, eventually being queried and even disproved by additional data. I do not have the presumption to maintain that all of my conclusions will survive the tests to be made in the future. However, if my treatment will lead in some way toward a clarification of issue and a better understanding of some of the Australian problems which still are in a chaotic state, I will feel that my efforts will not have been entirely in vain. The facts and information which I have used have been taken from the already known sources and include very little material which has not been assembled by other students. I must plead guilty, therefore, to their offence, for I have no new data to offer. My treatment, however, does present as far as Australia is concerned, a new method of interpretation.

It seems undoubtedly true that many of our misconceptions of Australian ethnology are due to conclusions drawn from adduced speculations which never can be proved or disproved. It would seem safer then, at least to my way of thinking, to take a conservative stand and wait for facts rather than to anticipate conditions which may never have existed. I believe that the time has not yet arrived

for an intensive study of Australian culture. Information is still too scarce and that which we have, collected from localities too scattered. Until we have more detailed descriptions from all regions of the continent, with an abundance of accurate field data, it would seem that we should confine our attention, unless we would become outright speculative, to the broader aspects of the diffusion of those few important traits concerning which we have a fair amount of information. For these reasons I have attempted to confine my discussion as far as practicable to the facts presented. In some cases, however, it has been found necessary to venture somewhat into the field of speculation, but this has been resorted to only when no other considerations were possible.

At this point it might be well to state that my construction differs fundamentally from that employed by Graebner and Schmidt.[1] Although my conclusions differ considerably from those reached by them, these results have been obtained with as little prejudice towards their Kulturekreis hypothesis as was possible in view of the facts as I interpret them. In my treatment I have considered no traits which do not have a contiguous distribution in Australia. I am convinced that many other traits in Australia might have been considered in the same light as those presented. However, due to the defects in information I have refused to treat them until we have more data at our command. In respect to the Kulturekreis hypothesis, I do not deny the theoretical possibility that diffusion may scatter a trait over such wide areas that subsequent observations may disclose great gaps between the positive appearances. In spite of this possibility, however, I do feel that in many cases, if not in most instances, the geographical distribution of the trait and its various elements should indicate in one way or another the historical process of diffusion which has taken place. If no acceptable geographical explanations are discernible it does not necessarily follow that convergence is to be held accountable for the appearances. There will often exist many factors of importance which cannot be perceived, or the significance of which can not be estimated. On the other hand it is perfectly conceivable that convergence is possible, as has been proved in many instances. When no evidence can be found to support a supposed diffusion and when, in

[1] See Graebner, 1905, 1906, and Schmidt, 1909

addition, geographical factors offer evidence against such a contention, it would seem that convergence can be the only logical explanation.

In presenting this paper, there are three primary objects in view. In the first place I would like to attract more attention to the Australian field. Certainly the time has come for the beginning of a factual consideration of the issues involved. New controversies should awaken new interest and stimulate activity in ethnological research. Compared with the other continents Australia has been almost entirely neglected for a quarter of a century, although there are signs at the present time which point to a much brighter outlook for the future. Australia, it seems, judging from the current reports of research there, is at last to receive its share of attention.

The second main purpose of my treatment is the consideration of Australian data from the American point of view, in which each and every trait is considered entirely upon its own face value without prejudice to similar conditions and their interpretations in other parts of the world. Culture in its entirety can hardly be understood until after its various parts have been dissected and analyzed. When the history of each element has been determined it will be possible to combine the component traits into their proper arrangement for the consideration of culture as a unit.

Thirdly, I would like to apply the principles of the geographical distribution method of determining culture stratification with the idea of strengthening or weakening the claims which have made for it as a method.

CHAPTER I

CULTURE

The term culture is used to express the entirety of the thoughts and actions of a group of human beings, their material products, their achievements in social and religious progress, their habits of life, the customs of every nature. Like geography and other such terms, the term culture suffers from having a vague and indefinite sense unless used in connection with a specific group of people or with the area which they inhabit. It is quite possible, for instance, to contrast the culture of the New World with that of the Old, but the superficiality of such a comparison should be readily apparent in view of the geographical problems implied. The reason why a more restricted area must be chosen should come to one's attention immediately upon a consideration of the usual definition of the term group. For group implies a unity, and unity of any kind, generally speaking, is seldom a characteristic of any continental area.

If we speak of the culture of the Eskimo, however, the general characteristics of the life of this people are sufficiently different from those of other people to immediately call to attention specific concepts. Nevertheless, all Eskimos do not have an absolutely identical culture. Generally speaking, however, they all conform to a type when they are compared as a unit with the other peoples of North America. Like the geographer, the anthropologist also divided a continent, but his division is one based upon areas which differ in culture. Upon such a classification the term culture-area has come into use among American anthropologists to designate a region in which the sum total of the culture of its inhabitants is characterized by general peculiarities which will allow for its ready differentiation from another such region selected on the same basis. This does not mean that a trait which is present in one culture area may not be found in another. Any one trait may extend over several areas. It is only the composite features of all the traits taken in the aggregate which may serve as a basis for separating one area from another.

Now, if we were to take all the available culture traits of an entire continent and plot them out on one map, we would notice a most

perplexing mass of complicated boundary lines. There would be circular, oblong and irregularly shaped figures overlapping and crossing each other. Some would be almost continental in scope, others would have a more or less restricted distribution. A close scrutiny, however, should reveal the fact that a few spots on the map tend to be blank, that is, a few "centers" would tend to be surrounded by a number of lines, each marking the periphery of a particular trait. Furthermore, it would be noticed that the lines themselves in a great many cases tend to generally parallel each other, or, in other words, each center tends to be more or less definitely surrounded by the limits of a number of traits.

To further restate the matter, it would be noticed that there are a certain number of areas in each of which various traits are respectively more typical than in others. These traits characterize one area distinctly from all the others as indicated, and this might be true in spite of the fact that the people of two or more areas wore the same type of moccasin, had similar ideas concerning the conduct of son-in-law and mother-in-law, used identical bows and arrows and told various folktales of the same nature. If these are the only points which the people of any two areas had in common, it seems obvious that the similarities are so few and the differences so many that, considering the sum total of culture, each area would be quite distinct from the other, for each would have by far a majority of traits characteristic only to itself.

The geographical center of a culture area, therefore, tends to be the culture center as well, for, on the basis of selection of a culture area, such a result is inevitable.

As it is widely understood, the term culture includes all the traits which are possessed by a people. A trait, therefore, may be an object of material culture or an aesthetic idea, a religious belief, a form of social organization, a rule of inheritance, a form of musical expression, a method of reckoning descent and so on. The term trait, it can be thus seen, may be applied to every concrete object or abstract notion which is part of the life of a people. Many times, however, two or more traits become closely associated together and jointly or severally act as a unit. Such a grouping is known as a culture complex, and the traits may be called contributory traits. A complex, itself, however, often gives birth to other traits which in time may

dissociate themselves from the complex and then diffuse independently. Such traits may be termed derivative traits. In view of the relationship between a contributory trait and a complex and between a complex and a derivative trait, it follows as an axiom that a contributory trait should have a distribution greater than the complex to which it has contributed. On the other hand, a derivative trait should have, in most cases, a lesser distribution than the complex from which it has been derived, or at most, it may approach or even equal the distribution of the latter, and in some cases, it may even extend beyond. A careful study in the distribution of the various traits found in a complex, therefore, may clearly indicate just which traits are fundamental (contributory) and which are secondary (derivative).

It thus seems to be evident that every culture trait must have its own point of origin and subsequently its own historical development. The latter, of course, is dependent upon many factors which may accidentally influence its growth.

To become a trait of a group any invention or discovery must be accepted by a people and put into use; otherwise it does not become one of their characteristics. There seems to exist what is termed group psychology, the workings of which are undiscernible, which dictates whether or not an invention is to be accepted by a people or ignored. Many inventions and discoveries are refused because they may invoke ideas too advanced or too complicated for the contemporary culture level that they invade. Furthermore, the introduction of a trait may be made at a time which is not auspicious for its acceptance. Once an invention has been lost, it may never be revived, even at a later time when conditions might be favorable for a gracious acceptance. An invention or discovery, too, it seems, might be made within a group which might be incapable of putting it in permanent service, while the same idea might never occur to another group whose culture level might be quite satisfactorily suited to its retention. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the borrowers of a trait often find it so conveniently suited to their general culture pattern that they immediately improve it and combine it with other ideas of their own.

There seem to be no rules or reasons which will satisfactorily explain the many inconsistencies in culture trait origins and their subsequent positive or negative development. A people who, to all intents

and purposes, might be expected to develop greatly a certain trait, might be the very last to do so, while others who appear to offer no hope for improvement in that direction, may, for some unexplainable reason, give sudden impetus to some borrowed trait. The whys and wherefores of culture are indeed baffling. The cases where invention or discovery result from a consciously conceived need must surely be not many. On the other hand, the great body of culture traits seem to have resulted from the chance of their invention or discovery being made at the right time and place.

Since a culture complex may develop only after a number of traits have become closely attached, it is quite evident that before a complex can exist and acquire a history of its own, each of the component contributory traits must have had its own individual history. It does not seem logical to consider the history of a complex, therefore, until after the histories of the individual traits have been taken into consideration, for a complex is resultant from the good fortune of two or more elements happening to meet at the proper time and under the proper circumstances. The history of a complex, therefore, is merely the continuity of the various histories of the component traits. It must be pointed out, however, that although a trait becomes a part of a complex, it may continue to exist individually as well and hence its own individual history may go on separately and apart from, as well as connected with, that of the complex.

The same principle holds for the different traits in all stages and conditions of culture whether they belong to economic, social, political or religious phenomena. Culture, when considered in the aggregate, is being continuously added to, continuously made more complex. Of course, European civilization seems to be continuously expanding the totality of its culture to an extraordinary degree, but culture seems to be of a reverberating nature and the possibility of new inventions becomes greater and greater as the number of individual traits and complexes which fuse into units becomes greater. We would naturally expect, therefore, that changes in primitive culture would take place very slowly. This we know to be the case. In fact, it is apparent that the culture changes of some peoples are so slow that they appear to be undergoing no change whatsoever, while, on the other hand, change in modern civilization occurs so rapidly that we have come to expect a new development in some line of human endeavor almost daily.

We are forced to assume, however, regardless of all appearances to the contrary, that all cultures do progress and change, though often for decades and even centuries no change whatever is perceptible. Certainly we have no right to maintain that the culture of the Tasmanians was the same at 1000 B. C. as it was when Van Dieman first visited the island in 1642. Obviously, too, the Eskimos have changed their culture since they first arrived in their northern habitat and the culture of the Andamanese may be different from that possessed by the first settlers of the islands. But what are the methods by which culture may change? Seemingly they are many, but these, it would appear in a final analysis, may be separated into two groups, those resulting from internal pressure and those which have developed as a result of external influence. In the first case we may include those which have taken place locally as a result of conscious efforts to improve the conditions of the group of the inventor, to simplify the process of manufacture, to ease the arduous toil of man in whatever pursuit he finds himself occupied, or in some fanciful manner not discernible to our minds, to "improve" religious practices, social control and intra-group relations. In this group, too, are to be included those examples of good fortune, the lucky discoveries which, without purposeful experimentation, have come into being in some manner or other. In the second group are to be listed the great quantity of traits which, independently invented or discovered by different peoples, have been transmitted from one people to another through some process of diffusion, by peaceful trade channels, by conquest of war, by migration, or by a natural diffusion from group to group. It seems quite obvious that any trait acquired in the latter manner may in turn be improved by the acquirer or by him combined with something which he already has to form a complex. The origin of such a complex should be listed under the restriction of the first category. Eventually this improvement or complex may be passed back to the inventors of the originally borrowed trait.

Culture, therefore, seems to be in a paradoxical situation of being a dynamic force which moves externally and internally by itself and at the same time it is one dependent upon the gregariousness of human beings for its very existence. Culture influences do not move from one people to another like dust on the back of the wind, nor does culture pass from region to region like the movement of an ocean

current from shore to shore. Neither a culture trait nor a culture complex, to say nothing of a culture in its mystic entirety, can move either externally or internally without impressing into service one or more of the five senses of living beings. In every culture diffusion, man must see, hear, feel, taste or smell this influence and this he may do consciously or subconsciously, impressed with the knowledge of what is taking place or entirely devoid of any realization of it.

Now in view of two methods by which a people may add to the complexity of their culture, it would seem apparent that those inhabiting a region offering a greater opportunity to meet and be influenced by people from other culture areas will have the best opportunity to increase their culture total. On the other hand, it is to be expected that those groups who live in isolated regions or off the cross-roads of culture influences have the poorest chance for developing complexity. The various Mediterranean groups, along with India and China, may be mentioned as examples of the first, while for the second we may point out the Tasmanians, Australians, Fuegians, Bushmen, northeastern Algonkians, Veddas, etc. All of the latter seem to have developed their own culture with a very minimum of outside influence, in contrast with the others who have greatly intensified theirs by borrowing a multitude of traits from the areas which surround them.

There is an inclination to believe that a complex culture is the result of the particular abilities or innate aptitudes of a people to develop it. This idea seems to be only partly true, for no one has ever satisfactorily demonstrated that the differences in the cultures of two peoples are due to a difference in the inherent mental qualities of the people themselves. That is, culture cannot be empirically explained upon a psycho-racial basis. Although the question of culture development is far from being settled, it would appear on the basis of modern data that culture miscegenation is conducive to culture virility, stimulated development and intensification. However, there are certain qualifications to be made to this statement. When two cultures meet, they must be more or less on the same general plane of development or else the quality of the more advanced must be compensated for by the greater quantity of the weaker. For instance, it has been possible for the Iroquois and Algonkians to influence each

other to the mutual advantage of both because the differences in their culture patterns were not too great. On the other hand the influence of the Europeans upon these two peoples has caused an annihilation of the cultures of the latter in those regions where the contact has been intense, because the difference in the culture levels of the Europeans and the natives was so great that the less complex one was completely overwhelmed and thereby exterminated. The same may be said for the influence of the Romans upon the various Mediterranean provinces, the effect of European civilization upon the negro in America, and the result of Arawak contact with the more primitive Siboney in the West Indies. In all these cases the advanced culture was brought in by groups who were numerically strong enough to inflict their institutions upon the weaker people with the result that the latter succumbed either culturally or became exterminated physically. On the other hand, the influence of the Arabs upon the Sudan is a good example where a people culturally superior have influenced another to the advantage of the native culture of the latter, for the Arabs have come into the Sudan in small numbers and their influences have been slowly accepted by the more primitive peoples and gradually assimilated by them. Another example may be mentioned for the Hindu and Mohammedan influences in the East Indies. Here culture influences have been introduced but they have been added to the aboriginal culture of the native population without breaking down the latter.

Culture miscegenation, we have said, is seemingly conducive to greater culture virility and complexity; therefore in the regions of contact of two or more cultures, the subsequent interactions may be expected to develop a newer and more complicated cultural structure. Thus a region which originally was marginal to two culture areas may eventually assume, through influences from both, a more complex culture than either of the two contributory areas, and as a result it may develop in time into a predominating center for the dissemination of the more recent advances. A culture area thus, at best, may have but a temporary distribution which has undergone in the past, and, unless interfered with, will continue to undergo in the future, both internal and external changes. It is unnecessary to mention the numerous examples of regions which are culture centers today and which were culturally marginal a few centuries ago. The many past

civilizations throughout the world are evidences of the alternative condition.

Throughout the native world, that is, in those regions where a relative simplicity in culture contributes towards a more facile understanding of culture and its multiple factors, we very seldom find two cultures clashing in toto. Instead we find that they influence each other, if at all, strongly only in some traits and weakly in others. We cannot take as examples of culture contact the influence of European civilization upon native groups with the resulting deculturation of the latter in a few generations. Under aboriginal conditions it may take hundreds of years or more for the penetration of an idea or an object which, with modern communications, we disseminate in less than a decade.

Culture intensification, however, is not dependent upon external influences as the sole means of change, for, as we have noticed, this may be brought about also by internal evolution. After an invention or a discovery has been made by a group, it is logical to suspect that at some future time, perhaps only a day, perhaps a century or longer, some improvement will be made by the group in possession of the original trait without the aid of external influence. If we may assume that this trait has diffused throughout a culture area and that at no place has it come into contact with foreign influence, then we may safely deduce on a theoretical basis, that odds greatly favor the locality of origin as the point where an improvement may take place. Here the trait has existed the longest and hence greater familiarity should increase the possibilities of betterment. Improvement, as we understand it here, may mean in the case of material objects an easier method of production, a refinement in shape or technique, an increase in number of types, the addition of other elements, the substitution of a better material, etc.; in the case of customs, the extension of application and observation to the women and children or vice versa, to the men, the restriction to some specific part of native society, any changes from simplicity to complexity, the codification of ritual, etc.; in the case of mythology, by the addition of more details, by a greater variety of tales based on a common theme, etc.; and so on throughout all the many categories of culture traits.

Now, although we have seen that a culture area is characterized by a number of traits and complexes which are indigenous to itself,

it must be emphasized that there does not exist an equal intensity of culture even within one cultural area. Any trait which is found throughout a culture area and which is indigenous to it must, of course, have been invented at some one point, and subsequently diffused to the rest of the group. If it happens to be a simple idea or principle or article and if the area of its possessors is small, no differences may be noticeable in its characteristics throughout its distribution; nevertheless, it must have undergone a period of diffusion. That is, at some previous time its distribution must have been smaller and previous to that smaller still until at the time of its invention it must have been possessed by one individual or by one small group.

It would be possible, therefore, if we possessed information which would establish the relative distributions of a trait at many different time periods, for instance, century by century, to determine the approximate locality of origin, for, taken century by century, the respective limits of the distributions would gradually shrink until the point or origin would be reached at the time of origin. Such a method has been utilized by Cooper in determining the diffusion of various culture elements in southern South America.[1] The abundance of information secured by travellers and missionaries over a period of several centuries has allowed a determination of almost a decade by decade diffusion. Very few regions of the aboriginal world, however, have been consistently described over such a long time period and therefore, this convenient method is one which cannot be used in many instances. There is another method which may be used to arrive at a similar conclusion. A chronology may often be shown by differences in appearance, in form and in function of a trait taken at different geographical points at any one time period.

Very few traits which have been added by a people to their culture have been retained in their original form. At some time or other, someone will usually bring forth an idea of improvement or complification. Now since the original trait has already diffused to other people and has been accepted by them, at the time of the discovery of the improvement, the original must have the greater distribution. Before long, however, the idea of the improvement will itself diffuse outwards, which incidentally is the only direction it can diffuse, and

[1] Cooper, 1925.

in all probability it will be accepted by those people who possess the original. The improvement will thus tend to occupy the area in which the original is to be found. The latter, however, it is logical to assume, is still continuing to be passed on from group to group in an ever increasing radius from its point of origin. If the two diffusions thus continue onwards and the rates of diffusion are the same, the improvement will never overtake the original, but will always occupy a position nearer to its point of origin, assuming that this was the same for both.

It can be seen readily, therefore, that the relative positions in distribution of an original trait and its various improvements constitute a means of determining the historical progress in the development of a trait. A trait must have distribution by the very fact of its existence. Each subsequent improvement must have a distribution on the same basis. It is possible, therefore, to observe the various changes which have taken place during the history of a trait if it is possible to observe the differences as they exist geographically. Such a theory to explain the historical developments in culture has been developed by Wissler and is known as the Geographical Distribution Theory.

CHAPTER II

The Geographical Distribution Theory

The Geographical Distribution Theory,[1] as is implied by its name, purports to reconstruct the historical development of a culture trait or complex by interpreting the chronological relationship between the relative geographical positions which the trait has successively occupied or between the relative geographical distributions of the various differences which the trait has gone through in its historical development. In the first case, the distributional development is bi-dimensional, for a series of distributions which a trait has occupied computed on the basis of different time intervals will correctly demonstrate the diffusion which a particular trait or trait element has undergone. In respect to a chronology based upon a spacial computation, the implication is more tri-dimensional, for in this instance the relative temporal distributions of the trait are unknown and undiscernible for any specific time of the past; nevertheless, the geographical distributions of the various internal changes in the trait as they succeeded each other temporarily, each having been superimposed upon its predecessor, allow for a determination of their chronological relationship.

In order to understand the progress which a trait or a complex has undergone in the course of its historical development, it is first necessary for us to consider the question from a purely theoretical point of view. After such an understanding has been reached, we may apply the principles warranted to some actual cases of distribution in order that we may fully substantiate the validity of the conclusion drawn on the basis of our hypothesis.

There are two assumptions which we must make before we may proceed with the erection of a background for the development of a hypothetical trait. Firstly, we must take for granted that the point of origin lies somewhere within an area in which the entire culture

[1] The Geographical Distributional theory has been known for some time to students of the natural sciences as the "Age and Area" theory. Its first application in Anthropology was made by Nelson, 1919, in connection with the chronology of Pueblo pottery. Wissler, 1926, 1927, has given this method its greatest impetus.

is consistently the same. That is, for the present, we are to ignore the possibilities of it meeting any influence from elements of a foreign culture. Secondly, we are also forced to assume that the hypothetical trait is one which is suited to existence within this entire area and that it will be favorably received by all the possessors of this common culture. On this basis, whereby all factors are equal on all sides, it seems logical to believe that once a diffusible trait has been invented and established at a certain point, it will spread in every direction at the same rate of diffusion. That is to say, that since all things are equal, the cultural factors which are at play for a rapid or slow adoption of the trait should work with an equal intensity in every direction. A distribution recorded at any one time, therefore, must be, by hypothesis, in the form of a circle, and furthermore, a series of distributions taken at different time intervals, will form, for the same reason, a series of concentric circles about the point of the trait's origin.

It therefore follows, in this theoretical case, that if the total distribution is known at any time, the point or origin may be indicated by finding the center of the distribution. We must now suppose that an improvement has been made in the original trait. This improvement, for a matter of convenience, we may term a sub-trait, since it may differ but little from the original. This sub-trait, it would seem, will acquire the characteristics of a trait, itself, for it, too, will tend to diffuse outwardly, which, incidentally, is the only direction in which a diffusion may take place. Since we have eliminated the possibility of an improvement resulting from any foreign influence, the odds favor the locality which has possessed the trait the longest, the point of origin of the original trait, as the place where this innovation will take place. It follows, therefore, that any subsequent study of the original trait and sub-trait will show a distribution for each, and if the rate of diffusion has been the same, we would notice that the limits of the two distributions are concentrically arranged.

Now we must further assume that the sub-trait, throughout its own area, is of sufficient importance to obliviate the original trait. If the trait concerned was a material object, it would be possible to substantiate its former presence in the area now occupied by the sub-trait by resorting to archaeology. However, when the trait is of a perishable nature or is a non-material one, such as a ceremony or

a social custom, neither a stratification nor mixed surface finds would be apparent, and as a result it would be impossible to determine such without the aid of historical documents or native tradition. The Geographical Distribution theory overcomes any such lack of evidence for it serves to demonstrate accurately just such a happening. The larger circle serves to not only indicate the distribution of the older trait but the lesser one indicates that the more recent sub-trait has been superimposed upon the original which has been displaced. If another sub-trait is developed out of the first, its presence would be indicated by another distribution of similar characteristics to the others, but it would occupy a smaller and more centrally located distribution. This, in all, is the principle of the Geographical Distribution method of determining culture chronology. In the case of a hypothetical arrangement it may be used to determine the following points:

1. When the *total* distribution of a trait is known, the approximate point of origin may be indicated.

2. When a series of related traits is known in any one direction, it should be possible to determine the direction of diffusion by the relative position of the more complex to the more simple manifestations.

3. When a series of related traits is known, and the direction of diffusion has been determined, it should be possible to correctly predict a similar succession in all the other directions emanating from the common center.

Now, in order that we might construct a purely theoretical case, we assumed at the start that all conditions were the same on every side, and that there would be no extraneous factors which would interfere with the diffusion of our hypothetical trait and its subsequent improvements. Such a condition, it goes without saying, can be at best only approximated in actuality, and in most cases, it may be added, there would be a multitude of factors which would strongly deter the diffusion of a trait into any such symmetrical distribution. As numerous and as important as these factors may be, however, it would seem possible to predict that in a great many cases the causes which work against a symmetrical distribution should be capable of discernment and explanation. On the other hand, it will be found that very often these factors are of such an elusive nature

that it will be impossible to assign correctly any specific reason to explain their presence. The difficulties which one may encounter are indeed manifold, nevertheless, on the basis of the Geographical Distribution theory it logically follows that there is a reason for every distortion in distribution, and that it is only a matter of detecting the correct cause or causes to explain the irregularities which exist in any known *total* distribution. Although the deterrents which may modify and deflect a natural diffusion are numerous and so dependent upon local conditions that they differ for each and every case, it is possible to suggest their general nature and to give examples of what is to be expected in the average distribution. We may group these deterring factors into two main groups, Geographical and Cultural.

Since every trait has geography by definition it is not difficult to understand why the distribution of a trait may be so often influenced by factors of this category. Mountains, deserts, oceans, lakes, swamps and streams are all important in guiding the destinies of the diffusion of a trait. The geology of the earth's surface may be the determining factor in whether or not a certain kind of stone working may diffuse into a region. The very nature of the soil of a region may prohibit the extension into the locality of certain kinds of agriculture and ceramic industries. Altitude even may adversely influence culture diffusion, and climate, with its many factors of seasonal change, wind currents and rainfall, may be of prime importance to the development or prohibition of a trait in a certain area. For instance, climate is certainly a very important deterrent which influences the southern boundary of the distribution of snowshoes in North America. Inca culture was confined to the Andean highlands, the hot coastal country not being suited to this manner of livelihood. The Sahara desert is not favorable for the extension of European civilization. Any number of general cases come to one's mind immediately.

Another group of factors which may serve to deflect and interfere with the logical diffusion of a trait are cultural ones. We have assumed in our discussion that these factors would be constant. Such a condition, we may be sure, never actually exists, for there remains the human side with its many irrationalities to take into consideration. A conservative element in a group may so strongly oppose the introduction of a new idea that it may temporarily or even permanently

hinder the diffusion of a trait in one direction, although the same diffusion may be taking place very rapidly in the others. It is possible that the local conservativeness of a group may so successfully combat the introduction of a trait that the latter may eventually surround the locality by passing it on all sides and reuniting on the farther side. A good example may be seen in the spread of Democratic government in Europe during the last two centuries, and its decline in the last decade. The political history of each nation has been marked by the conservativeness of the Royalists who have actively opposed the extension of democratic principles to their respective countries. In contemporary Europe we may today see the conservative forces in the West fighting against the introduction of Bolshevism, while to the east and south of Russia its diffusion has been not only rapid, but also intense.

Conservatism, however, is not the only cultural feature which may serve as a hindrance to culture diffusion. Although a trait may be suited to the general culture and environment of a people, for some reason impossible to determine, it may never be accepted by them. The Naskapi Indians of the Labrador peninsula and the Labrador Eskimo have been in contact with each other for several centuries, and yet they have influenced each other in culture to a surprisingly small degree, and this, in spite of the fact that their general means of livelihood are in certain seasons approximately the same. In this instance, therefore, we might assign an ethnic cause for the limit of the distribution of a trait, although, it may be added, that other reasons might be assignable if we were fully acquainted with the psychology of the two groups concerned. Psychological causes, however, come under the classification of cultural ones and it is when the culture traits of two originally different cultures clash that they may be of utmost importance. Peoples sometimes have an attitude against things of foreign derivation and this is often so regardless of similarities of race and differences in culture on the one hand, and the similarities of culture and the differences of race on the other. There may be, therefore, conscious irrational endeavors on the part of any group which work against the diffusion of a trait. Although these constitute a very small percentage of the examples which hinder diffusion, they should at least be considered. The opposition on the part of a culture group to the introduction of a foreign trait is

usually based upon more rational reasons. A new trait may be opposed because it conflicts with some institution, custom or idea which they already possess. It may be but a poor, or at best only an equal substitute for something which they independently developed and which they have long had in their own culture. To their way of thinking it may seem trivial or worthless. Finally, it may be absolutely unsuited to their culture background. There are, of course, the alternate reasons which may hasten the diffusion of a culture trait. It may spread rapidly simply because it is an innovation, in spite of the fact that it may be of no appreciable culture value. The very fact of a foreign origin may cause its ready acceptance. Generally speaking, however, culture diffusion with its multiple factors, moves slowly and takes place without any conscious efforts on the part of the people who are instrumental in diffusing it. It seems logical to believe that once a trait has been invented, it will continue to diffuse forever, until checked by some of the opposing forces which we have considered. If this is true, it follows, under aboriginal conditions, that the more complex the culture the less chance there is for a normal diffusion, for since by "more complex" we mean a closer approach to a sufficiency in culture, there is less chance for the invention of another people being an absolute desirable innovation. Diffusion, therefore, as we have conceived it in theory, should be demonstrated most closely under the more primitive conditions where the number of cultural factors which may oppose its introduction should exist in the minimum.

Another feature which may cause important modifications in the practical application of our theoretical conception of diffusion lies in the means of diffusion. Given favorable conditions as to geography and given receptiveness on the part of a culture group, we must admit that abnormal conditions will be possibly of utmost importance in influencing the diffusion of a trait. For most people of the world, it seems correct to believe that peacetime conditions represent normal ones, and that these are most auspicious to a normal culture diffusion. Furthermore, it would seem that diffusion among a people who lead a sedentary life should more closely approximate our theoretical conception than that which takes place among roving nomads who might spread culture in varying degrees of distance and intensity. Again, the long movements of people either through aggessions in

war or migrations in peace would interrupt the logical diffusion of a trait, for they would considerably extend it in one direction while, at the same time, they might hinder or even eliminate entirely its diffusion in others.

In any actual case of distribution we notice that there is no set interval between the limits of the areas occupied by the various sub-traits. There are two implications which may be drawn from such a set of distributions. If the rate of diffusion has been constant in all instances, then there must have been greater time intervals between the inventions the limits of which are separated by the greater spacial intervals than there were between those separated by the lesser. On the other hand, if the time interval had been constant, that is, if the inventions had successively followed each other, one every ten years let us say, then it is obvious that the rate of diffusion in each case has been different. Since a constant rate of diffusion for several trait elements is never to be expected, absolute rate of diffusion being almost impossible to determine, and since we do not find culture improvements occurring at regular set time intervals, it is apparent that the relative distributions of a series of traits presents an investigator with a very important problem for solution. It is quite possible for an original trait to spread over an enormous area before any improvement is made. The latter, however, once it has been put in motion, may diffuse so rapidly that in time, it may not only overtake its predecessor and parent, but, furthermore, it may extend over and beyond the limits of the latter. A second improvement may soon come along to duplicate the history of the first, yet, on the other hand, it may diffuse so slowly, that before long, it may be overtaken and obliterated by still another sub-trait. Rate of diffusion, therefore, is a very important factor in determining the historical development of any culture trait. It applies particularly to the Geographical Distribution theory since a rate of diffusion is seldom constant in every direction, for it is partially determined by the geographical and cultural factors which we have already discussed. The rate of diffusion may make an important difference in the intensity of a trait as it is observed in different localities. A rapid diffusion in one direction may introduce a culture trait only superficially, whereas a slower rate in the opposite direction may cause the same trait to assume a most profound aspect in the culture setting of its receivers.

Now, we have been assuming that all improvements which have been made subsequent to the diffusion of the original trait, have taken place at the same central point. It seems hardly necessary to state that such a condition is one which is not often encountered in reality, especially when there has been a long series of related traits. There is one important point, however, the truth of which cannot be denied. An improvement, by definition, *must* take place somewhere within the distribution of the trait, sub-trait or improvement from which it has been derived. There is the possibility, however, that one or more of the sub-traits may diffuse over and beyond the limits of its predecessors. It may be stated that although this is certainly a possibility, it nevertheless represents as much an extreme condition as our original conception of a series of traits, all of which originated at one common point.

There is still another possibility in development which must be noted. Very often a trait will be improved independently in two or more localities within its distribution. These respective sub-traits may differ considerably among themselves, yet on the other hand, they may be so similar that their unconnected distributions may puzzle one who attempts to work out their relationship and chronology. For instance, we may suppose that two independent developments have been made in a trait and that it is impossible to differentiate one from the other. While some would be disposed to search for evidences which would connect their distributions, such a hunt would be in vain as we know ex-hypothesis. The distributions themselves, however, should tell the tale, for, if there is a sufficient amount of data, it should be possible to determine that independent improvements have taken place.

From the foregoing brief discussion, it seems apparent that for a true understanding of the historical development of any culture trait, a vast multitude of factors must be taken into consideration. It follows likewise that if all the facts are known and all the phenomena are *correctly interpreted* that there can be but one true explanation which should be obvious. Therefore, when there are differences in opinion as to the chronology and historical development of a trait, these differences must be explained by a lack of sufficient data and by incorrect interpretations on the parts of the investigators whose opinions conflict. It may be stated in respect to this conclusion,

that in very few instances are we acquainted with all the facts which are desirable and which could be used in the determination of culture development. There is the possibility of differences in conclusions, therefore, right from the very start. Furthermore, since the *interpretation* of culture phenomena may differ from individual to individual, it is evident that even with an approximated totality in data, a wide range for different conclusions presents itself.

We have considered some of the many groups of factors which are generally constantly at work to deviate culture development and diffusion from the strictly theoretical manner which we believe to be correct. We have seen that any one factor or group of factors may be sufficient to interfere with that which we would consider as a normal development. It is not difficult to realize, therefore, that when all these sets of factors are present and have interacted in varying degrees of intensity upon the diffusion of a trait, a most complicated and distorted distribution results. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to believe that if we are able to only approximate a totality of data, it should be possible, upon a careful examination of facts, to infer the probable development which has taken place Once the probable development has been estimated, we should be able through the process of elimination to narrow down the number of unknown quantities. Prominent geographical features which may influence diffusion should not be difficult to discern. The cultural factors, however, offer the great stumbling blocks to understanding.

In a consideration of the development of a series of culture traits or sub-traits, the first important step, it would seem, is to identify a relationship between the various elements concerned. It seems obvious that in determining a chronology, a definite relationship must be established, for it is quite possible for one to confuse two entirely independent factors, or, by a wholesale generalization, to group traits which are apparently similar, but actually unrelated. In my opinion we must be very careful in making studies of traits which occur in world distributions to not select those which by their very nature are common to mankind. Obviously, marriage ceremonies and funeral rites, as they occur throughout the world, have been produced from common psychological causes; nevertheless, there would seem to be

no necessary genetic connection between the many different customs by which these basic ideas may be expressed.

In the application of the Geographical Distribution theory, therefore, it is imperative that we demonstrate that the traits and sub-traits with which we deal do have a genetic relationship. A genetic connection, by its very nature, implies a time difference in the origins of the traits concerned, since each trait or sub-trait, except the first, must have been developed from a predecessor. Since the main purport of this theory is to establish a chronology between the various traits of a series, the presence of an age difference is to be understood.

The Geographical Distribution theory is applicable, of course, to all distributions, but this should not be implied to mean that a suitable explanation is to be derived in every instance. As I have tried to bring out, the number of factors which contribute towards a distortion in distribution is legion, and furthermore, they may be so replete with undeterminable phenomena that any attempt to unravel them may be in vain. A large proportion of the historical developments in culture, however, should be capable of some explanation, while a still larger percentage should allow the drawing of an implication as to what has taken place. Taken all in all, it is undoubtedly true that suggested diffusions, regardless of the amount of evidence presented, will always be subject to equivocation, especially as more and more data of concern are learned. Additional facts may always invalidate the conclusions drawn upon insufficient information, for they may change the conditions governing the application of a theory; however, this does not mean that they disfranchise from validity the truthfulness of the theory itself.

CHAPTER III

Initiation Rites

It is now necessary to bring into consideration some actual distributions in order that we may test out the validity of our theoretical surmises. Culture, as we know, differs greatly from people to people, varying from the utmost simplicity among some to a labyrinth of complexity among others. Although we might apply the geographical theory to all, it seems rather obvious that the disturbing factors in diffusion will tend to increase numerically, the greater the complexity of the parent culture. On the other hand, simplicity in culture would seem to be most conducive to an approximation to a theoretical diffusion. In a simple culture, a trait should undergo less radical changes as it is accepted in the various localities to which it has been diffused. In addition to simplicity, a culture to be studied should occupy a large area, in order that we may discount minor variations which may be relatively unimportant in the history of a trait's total development. Very often in a small restricted distribution we might be inclined to give undue consideration and emphasis to a localism for the simple reason that the local nature might not be apparent, whereas in a larger distribution it should be possible to discern a more truthful evaluation of a trait's local peculiarity. Again, it would seem best to select a group of people whose culture appears to be generally indigenous and which has been subjected to a very minimum of foreign influence. With such a selection, many disturbing culture features should be eliminated. But where, it may be asked, will we find a people in an area which will fulfill these requirements? To this question there is at least one answer,—Australia.

The simplicity of Australian culture is so well known that it needs but little comment. Existing as they do in a purely hunting stage of advancement, the Australians are completely devoid of those refinements of culture which come with a knowledge of agriculture, domestication of animals, the manufacturing of ceramic vessels, the wearing of clothing, the building of permanent habitations and the use of the bow and arrow.

In the first place, the Australians are noted for the general backwardness of their culture. Of all the most primitive peoples of the world of which we have any knowledge, the Australians are culturally their peers at best, with the exceptions perhaps of the now extinct Tasmanians and a few of the contemporary pigmy groups. The Australians, it would seem, should constitute an example par excellence for a culture study based upon the Geographical Distribution theory. In addition to their simplicity in culture, they occupy an entire continent and serve to illustrate the only case where one people having one general culture occupy such an enormous region. Furthermore, the Australians, having a whole continental island on which to develop their culture, and not being navigators in the ordinary sense of the word, and by their geographical location being far removed from the paths of the great culture movements which have influenced the world, it would seem that they should exhibit a very minimum of foreign culture influence. Then, too, generally speaking, the geography of Australia presents no great insuperable obstacles which might prevent a normal diffusion of culture. There are no great mountain ranges as we understand them on the other continents, although there is an important Diving Range which runs from north to south along the eastern coast. These mountains, as will be brought out below, have had, nevertheless, important effects upon the diffusion of certain traits and have served to retard the movement of culture into the coastal regions. The great desert of the central and western regions of the continent does not seem to have influenced culture diffusions as much as we might expect at first glance.

A great many traits in Australia seem to have spread from the center of the continent, so that here we have an ideal situation for the application of our theory, for the culture of the whole continent is approximately the same, and so a trait diffusing into different regions would be meeting about the same intensity of culture on all sides. This does not mean that every Australian group has the same culture as every other. Such a statement would be absurd, for there are many important differences from one end of the continent to the other. These differences to my mind are very often explainable in terms of the Geographical Distribution theory and it is with these

great continentally distributed traits that this discussion will be concerned. The Australians, however, fulfill our requirements in a great many other ways. Although they are pure and simple hunters, and hunting implies that there must be some movement of population, there is none in the sense of roving nomadism. The Australians may be classified in the paradoxical category of being sedentary nomads, for, except in the center of the continent, a fact which will be of great significance to us later on, the greater part of the continent has been split up ever since very early times, into small districts, each of which is owned and occupied by an individual hunter and his family. These districts, which are known as Family Hunting Territories, have been considered by the writer in other connections, but the characteristics of these family lands are important to us here. Absolute ownership, sole occupation, trespass prohibition, patrilocality and well-known boundaries inform us quite accurately that in spite of the fact that the Australians are hunters, they were confined by custom into localities outside of which they travel only to attend some great meeting or corroboree. The antiquity of this hunting system is well demonstrated by the fact that the Australians, generally speaking, have no tales of migrations, and hence they must have occupied their present districts for an incalculable long period. Such a condition, it is to be expected, should certainly contribute toward any diffusion taking place in a normal manner. In addition to a lack of recent ethnic movements, there have been no great wars in Australia. The political organization of the Australians militates against the clashing of great numbers of people, for there seem to have never been any great intertribal wars. Many minor fights take place, not only between tribes, but within them as well, but these demonstrations usually end in no casualties except the wounding of a few individuals or occasionally the death of a man or two. In these encounters, peace is generally restored as soon as blood has been drawn. In addition to this list of factors, all of which seem to indicate prime favorability for the application of the Geographical Distribution theory, it is necessary to mention the great meetings which are held periodically throughout the continent and which are often attended by natives from localities within a radius of a hundred miles or more. These congresses are certainly conducive to a peaceful diffusion of

ideas. Taking all these factors into consideration, we must conclude that Australia and the Australians constitute a setting in which culture should develop and diffuse in a manner which should most closely approximate our theoretical conception of the development of a culture trait and culture in general.

Initiation Rites

The Australians, like most other peoples of the world, practice or did practice under aboriginal conditions, various ceremonies which are intended to celebrate that important event in the life of each young man which marks his emergence from the status of childhood into that of a full-fledged member of the adult community. As might be expected in such a large continental mass, these ceremonies are not uniform, but differ, often from tribe to tribe, in form, intensity, ritual, and significance. The differences, however, may be grouped into two main types, those of major importance which are concerned with factors of continental magnitude, and those of minor consequence which have to do with minute variations of secondary rites which, in most cases, are decidedly local in distribution and importance. Since we are dealing with continental traits, it is hardly necessary to state that our consideration will be devoted only to those of the first type.

In spite of what might be expected ordinarily from such a vast area, an analysis of the Australian initiation rites brings out the point that there are but three main widely distributed culminating rites in initiation from one end of the continent to the other, although, it may be added, there are a few others which may have been more important in the past. These, however, will be discussed later and by themselves. For the time being then we will limit ourselves to the three major ones. In order to facilitate discussion it is necessary to speak of a fourth type of ceremony which we may designate as an anomalous one. By this we will mean initiation ceremonies in which neither of the other three major types are practiced. It should also be pointed out that the anomalous ceremonies do not necessarily include or exclude these additional rites which have been set aside for a later discussion. The four types of ceremonies, therefore, may be designated as follows:

Type 1. Ceremonies of the Anomalous type.

MAP 1

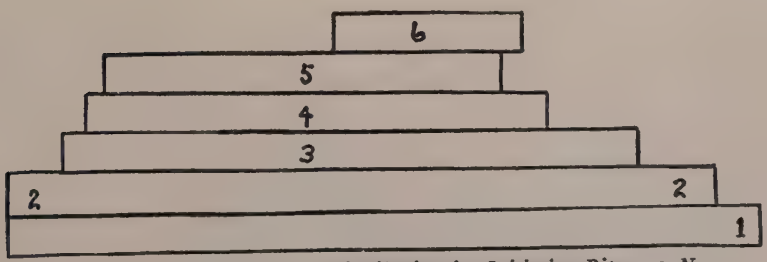

Fig. 1. Cross-section of Distribution for Initiation Rites: 1, No initiation ceremonies; 2, Simple ceremonies; 3, Avulsion of teeth; 4, Circumcision; 5, Subincision; 6, Non-initiatory avulsion.

Type 2. Ceremonies marked by the Avulsion of a Tooth or Teeth.
Type 3. Ceremonies characterized by Circumcision.
Type 4. Ceremonies in which Subincision is practiced in addition to circumcision.

It should not be implied that the anomalous ceremonies are marked by any positive specific unity, in the sense inferred for the others. There is a unity, however, in a negative sense, for the anomalous ceremonies are all characterized by the absence of tooth avulsion, circumcision, and subincision.

Now it is important to notice that these four types of initiation ceremonies are not scattered in an indiscriminate manner throughout Australia, but, as is apparent in map 1, each is enclosed by boundaries from which contiguity for each may be safely implied. Furthermore, the practice of subincision, which is accompanied by circumcision, has a smaller distribution than does circumcision itself, for the area of the latter outflanks the appearance of the former. Still more widely distributed is the practice of tooth avulsion, while peripherally located to the latter in several non-contiguous areas, we find the appearances of the anomalous ceremonies. In one costal region, southeastern Victoria, no initiation ceremonies whatsoever take place, so that from the center of the continent to the southeast we notice a sequence in types of 4, 3, 2, 1, with finally no ceremonies at all. In most of the other directions, assuming the central regions as a starting point, we notice a similar sequence of 4, 3, 2, 1. Applying our theory of geographical distribution to the evidence which we have so far considered, we may suspect that Australia was originally characterized by a total lack of initiation ceremonies and that at some subsequent time the idea of initiation became established in a simple form (Type 1). Following in a temporal order came the avulsion of a tooth (Type 2), circumcision (Type 3), and lastly subincision (Type 4). Such a chronology is indicated by the distributions charted. It is imperative, therefore, to test out these surmises by a consideration of the facts available concerning the actual traits themselves. Since we find these traits widely distributed it seems obvious that a diffusion of each trait has taken place, and, therefore, we should expect the areas which are marginal in each case to present evidences demon-

strating less intense characteristics than those regions which respectively are the centers of distribution.

It should be stated that we are not to discuss the comparative factors of Australian initiation ceremonies. Such a task is far too complicated in the present time in view of the fact that we have very little data from a great part of the continent. We do know the general distributions of some of the outstanding features of these ceremonies as we have already indicated, and it is with these that we may deal. The relationship of circumcision to subincision for purposes of comparison is apparently obvious. Tooth avulsion, although of a very different nature in itself, is also comparable with the others for they are all associated with the initiation rites, and hence, it seems permissible to consider all three with a view of determining their chronological relationship, their respective points of origin and their subsequent diffusions. Because of their wide distribution it would seem that they should illustrate the general principles of how culture traits diffuse over great areas.

Subincision

The operation of subincision is practiced throughout the greater part of the Australian continent. It consists of slitting open the penile urethra and, so far as reports indicate, always takes place subsequently to the operation of circumcision.[1] There can be no doubt but that subincision, in its occurrence throughout the continent, is the result of a unitary origin. Just where the place of origin is cannot be definitely answered, but as will be brought out below there are good grounds for the presumption that it is somewhere in the heart of the continent. However, before this point may be discussed, it is necessary to consider the distribution. Generally speaking, subincision is found to the west of a line drawn from the southeastern point of the Gulf of Carpentaria on the north of Spencer Gulf on the south. (See Map 1.) Its northern limit may be indicated by the line between the western point of the Gulf of Carpentaria and Cambridge Gulf. In the south it extends to the coast, except in the far west, where, as along the western coast, it

[1] Stuart, 1896, p. 121, reports subincision without a preliminary circumcision. (Quoted by Basedow, 1927, p. 125.) The locality does not seem to be definitely indicated but is somewhere within the spinifex district of North Australia.

is entirely lacking in the coastal districts. Throughout the vast region enclosed as indicated, subincision has been consistently reported and as far as I am aware, no statements to the contrary have been made. For western Queensland, Roth has reported *en bloc* the presence of this rite from the Wellesley Islands off the northern coast in the Gulf of Carpentaria to the South Australian border.[2] From this area it continues into South Australia where it seems to be found throughout, except southwest of a line between Spencer Gulf and the northwestern part of New South Wales, where it has been reported for the Mulya-napa.[3]

West Australia from an ethnological point of view, is practically unknown. Since vast regions consist of desert country, European colonization has never occurred over a considerable portion. Although undoubtedly unsuited for European occupation, we must not conclude, until we have reports to the contrary, that it is also unfavorable to native inhabitation. We have no ethnological reports from a great

[2] Roth, 1897, p. 177: "Introcision . . . is met with throughout the Boulia, Leichardt, Selwyn and Upper Georgina Districts; outside of these areas it extends westwards into Northern Territory; southwards it is found on the Middle Diamantina, while northwards the ordeal exists among tribes extending as far as Burketown and the Wellesley group of islands." The various tribal groups he refers to are the following: Undekerebina, Yaroinga, Pitta pitta, Miorli, Mygoodano, Mykoolon, Oboroondi, Injilinji, Workobonga, Workia, Kalkadoon, Mitakoodi, Ngarra, Engoola, Yelima, Oonoomurra (see also Curr, 1886, Vol. II, 342), Wellesley Island Tribe, op. cit., pp. 170-179, and the Ooloopooloo, op. cit., p. 168.

[3] Dieri, Howitt, 1904, p. 662; Helm, Trans. R. S. S. A., Vol. xvi, p. 276. Curr, 1886, Vol. I, p. 75, mentions this rite for Umbertana and the Warburton river, Eyre's Creek and duplicates Roth's information for the territory delimited in the preceding note. Howitt, op. cit., describes the subincision as practiced by the Parnkalla and related groups, which occupy the area along the coast to the west of Spencer Gulf, p. 669; for the tribe at Fowler's Bay (the Tidni?), p. 667; and for the Yerkla-mining at the head of the Great Australian Bight, p. 666. Howitt also indicates quite accurately the boundary of the practice of subincision in southeast South Australia, op. cit., p. 643. He says: "A line drawn about east and west, some three hundred miles from Adelaide to the north, will separate the tribes who are circumcised from those who are both circumcised and subincised. The former are called Banapa, that is, circumcised, and the latter Bida, being both circumcised and subincised." The Bida are to the north of the said line. Inland from the coast, White, 1915, pp. 726-27, reports subincision for the Everard Range Tribe. The latter is also mentioned by Helms, R., Anthropology, Trans. R. S. S. A., Vol. 16, p. 248. In addition, the latter reports its presence for the Blyth Range and Barrow Range Tribes. (He gives the location of the Barrow Range as in South Australia. My maps show it to be just west of the West Australia border.) Curr, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 159, reports the Mulya-napa to practice subincision.

part of West Australia, nevertheless, the few observances which have been made are of great value. Because of the nature of terrain and climate the native groups seem to be numerically fewer and further separated from each other than those in eastern Australia. This wider range of the individual groups is probably due to the inability of the region to support great numbers. It seems only reasonable, therefore, to surmise that the few groups reported extend their territories over vast extents of land and, likewise, that great blank stretches on the map may really not indicate a lack of information, but on the other hand, their areas may be included in the lands of the comparatively few tribes. Some regions, however, are perhaps not inhabited at all. For the southern part of West Australia there are several reports of the practice of subincision and, from their relative position, there seems to be grounds for a fair presumption that this custom is of continuous distribution from tribe to tribe, especially since there are no reports to the contrary. This distribution connects the whole area of southern West Australia, from the South Australia border on the east, to the habitat of the Mulierra, on the Upper Sanford river in the neighborhood of Mount Luke and Mount Parr, on the west.[4] Subincision is also reported from the Grenough river district.

For the great central part of West Australia, there seems to be no information whatsoever, and so, unfortunately, it is necessary to leave a considerable portion unaccounted for. In the far north, however, in the Kimberley region, subincision is again reported[5] and here its area is contiguous to the distribution of this custom as it occurs in the Northern Territory.

In the latter region, except to the north of the line between Cambridge Gulf and the Gulf of Carpentaria all tribes are reported

[4] Continuing on to the west from the groups mentioned in the preceding note, Helms, op. cit., mentions the presence of subincision among the tribes inhabiting the Victoria Desert, the Fraser Range (and the Yunga Tribe near these mountains), Hampton Plains, and finally the tribes in the Murchison District near Annean Station. To the west of the latter are the Mulierra, who are reported by Curr, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 377. For the Grenough river region see Mrs. Daisy Bates, 1905-1906, quoted by Frazer, 1910, Vol. I, p. 565.

[5] Matthews, R. H., 1901, p. 220, reports that "Circumcision and cutting open the male urethra are in vogue in all the tribes treated in this paper." These appear to be the Kisha, Gunyan, Lungar, Nining, Jarrau and Walmaliarri who dwell along the sources of the Fitzroy, Margaret and Ord rivers.

to practice subincision.[6] The distribution of this rite in this area is very important for it connects in a contiguous fashion the practice aforementioned for western Queensland, South Australia and northern West Australia as is well indicated on the accompanying map.

Now, on the basis of a contiguous distribution,[7] it would seem that there should be no doubt in the mind of anyone but that the rite of subincision is the result of a single origin. The contiguous distribution of any trait is usually interpreted to imply that the place of origin lies somewhere within this distribution and that the latter has been reached as the result of a diffusion. Arguing from this point of view, the next logical step seems to be an inquiry as to the direction, or directions, if it has spread away to the many sides of a center, over which this diffusion has taken place. It would seem necessary to investigate especially the periphery of distribution, for, since it is assumed that the trait spread outwards from some place *within* the peripheral localities, the appearance of the trait in the places where it has most recently arrived should show less intensity than those which are to be found nearer to the place of origin. Let us apply this principle to the subincision trait. If we examine the evidence firstly from the more central part of the distribution, we are informed by Spencer and Gillen that this rite "consists, as is well known, in sub-incision of the penis, so that the penile urethra is laid open from the meatus right back to the junction with the scrotum."[8]

This statement they apply to all tribes of their acquaintance in the central part of the continent.

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[6] Spencer, B., 1914, pp. 89-91, enumerates the following: Kadjerong, Allura, Mudburra, Waduman, Airiman, Yungman, Mungarai, Yukul, Willingura, Gnuin, Karawa, Kudinji, Wanji, Mara, Anula, Kallawa, Binbinga, Ngangi, Umbaia, Tjingilli, Bingongina, Walpari, Warramunga, Worgaia, Kaitish, Unmatjera, Arunta, Luritja, Urabunna, Wonkgongaru and the Dieri. See also Spencer and Gillen, 1899, pp. 212 et seq., 1904, pp. 328 et seq.

[7] Thomas, W., 1905, indicates on his map that there is an isolated group in Queensland which practices this custom. I have not been able to find a specific reference for this locality, and so I am unable to state whether or not the information of Roth, which was collected subsequently to that of Thomas, should be implied to include this area within that already mentioned. Even though there may exist a non-contiguous distribution in this one case, the few miles which separate it from the region where subincision is generally practiced would not seem to offer any doubt but that the two areas are historically related.

[8] 1899, p. 263.

For the other peoples who are not on the periphery of distribution, statements as to the extent of the operation seem to be lacking. For our purpose, however, the above information would seem to be quite sufficient, for it embraces all of the centrally located tribes for which reports have been made in any detail. In addition, we are given to understand that in this centralised area the rite of subincision is unanimously practiced. It seems to be absolutely necessary that every male undergo this ceremony before he is entitled to become a full fledged member of the tribe and before he can acquire a wife. There is no alternative. Choice does not enter into the matter for the manner in which the youths are seized unexpectedly and submitted to the rite excludes the possibility of there being any individual voice. Furthermore, within this central area, youths often voluntarily offer themselves for a second subincision which consists in reopening any part of the original wound which may have healed or in cutting the original wound deeper.[9] The latter does not seem to have been reported for any other locality.

If we will now turn to the marginal tribes we notice that there is considerable lack of uniformity not only between the various peripheral groups, but within each individual marginal tribe as well. Roth, for instance, for the tribes in western Queensland with whom he was acquainted, informs us that the complete operation, as performed in Central Australia, was made in some cases only. He says:

"The extent of the wound is apparently inconstant. I have observed it varying from a little over an inch in some cases, to a gash opening up almost the whole of the penis as low down as half an inch from the scrotum, in others. No bone or stick of any description is inserted within the urethra along which to guide the knife." [10]

On the extreme southeastern border of the distribution of subincision, that is, some three hundred miles to the north of Adelaide, none of the subincisions seems to have been complete. Howitt, in describing the initiation ceremonies of these peoples, says that some

[9] Among the tribes of western Queensland a transverse cut was noticed by Roth. This cut, however, was not made during actual subincision, but was due to subsequent cuttings at the time of the initiation of others when the penus would be rubbed with a sharp stone in order to draw blood which was allowed to fall on and sprinkle the initiates who were lying on the ground. Roth, op. cit., p. 178.

[10] Ibid, p. 178 (see also figure 429).

time after circumcision, when a boy is approaching manhood, he is seized and the urethra slit down for about an inch.[11] This was done by cutting down to a rounded piece of bone which had been inserted in the penile urethra. Stirling, after remarking about the completeness of the operation among the central tribes, brings out the point that

"Amongst some tribes on the seaboard of the Gulf of Carpentaria, it is sometimes less completely performed, a portion only of the urethra being laid open, or a small hole only being made which sometimes has to be enlarged." [12]

This simple form of subincision, or perforating the urethra as it is more generally called, is also mentioned for this region by Basedow[13] who extends its area southwards throughout the whole eastern periphery of distribution. According to this writer, perforating the urethra

"is restricted to the eastern confines of the area over which the more drastic subincision is in vogue, that is, to a narrow belt of country extending from the Gulf of Carpentaria, along the western borders of Queensland, southward into Eyre Peninsula."

In respect to the western periphery of subincision, we are informed by Robertson that among the De Gray river tribes the slitting of the urethra is made "from the meatus to the middle of the organ only." However, in respect to the natives on the north side of the Murchison the operation is complete.[14]

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[11] Op. cit., p. 644. Schürmann, 1846, p. 15, reports subincision to be complete for some of the tribes of this region. (Quoted by Basedow, op. cit.)

[12] Stirling, 1896, Vol. 4, pp. 26-27. It is questionable whether Stirling observed this condition himself. Apparently he has derived a great deal of information from Stretton, 1893, pp. 232-233, who says: "He (the one performing the operation) then takes the penis between the thumb and forefinger, turns it up, and slits the urethra close to the back part of the foreskin. Some of these slits, being clumsily done, extend nearly the whole length of the penis; while others form only a small hole, which sometimes has to be enlarged."

[13] Basedow, 1927, p. 138. In this respect Stuart, 1896, pp. 116-117, says: "In other cases, as in that of the blacks of the Gawlor Range, the operation is a mere perforation of the lower wall of the urethra 'at the base of the scrotum' (from Le Souef—see Smyth, 1878, Vol. II, p. 205), that is, anterior to the scrotum, in the penial portion, as is expressly stated by Creed (1883, p. 95), who gives the opening as being from one to one and a half inches long. So also Lumholz (1870, p. 48), who says that the Georgina River blacks make a similar opening an inch long in the same position, and Provis (see Taplin, 1879, p. 99) gives half an inch."

[14] Robertson, 1879, quoted by Stuart, op. cit., p. 116.

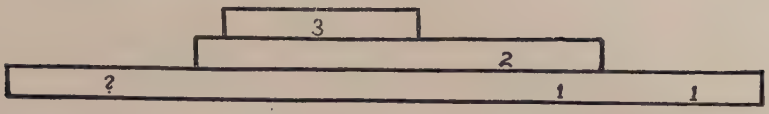

Fig. 2. Cross-section of Distribution for Subincision (from left to right, West Australia, Central Australia, Queensland, South-east Australia): 1, Operation rudimentary; 2, Operation complete in some cases; 3, Operation complete from meatus to scrotum in all cases.

The foregoing reports, meager as they are, seem to indicate perfectly well that the operation, at least in certain parts of the periphery of distribution, is not as intensely developed as throughout the central area and this, in turn, seems to demonstrate that diffusion is taking or has taken place in an outward direction.

It is possible to view this matter from still another standpoint with respect to the marginal peoples. As has been stated, throughout the central regions every male was required to submit to the subincision rite.[15] Among the peripheral groups this requirement, if it existed, seems not to have been enforced and may have been lacking entirely. If we are correct in assuming an outward diffusion, it would seem logical to expect that a newly acquired trait would not be institutionalized immediately upon or after its inception. In this respect there are a few reports which show that among various tribes whose habitat is on the periphery of the distribution of subincision, not all the males have undergone this rite. The Ominee, who flank the more intense development of the rite in Queensland, have been reported by Curr who says:

"Most of the young males are admitted at about 15 years of age to the rank of young men by means of the terrible rite (subincision). Some, however, undergo circumcision only." [16]

For the Mulya-napa, the only group in New South Wales which has been described as practicing this ceremony, Curr reports that although all of the men were circumcised, not all of them were subincised.[17] The tribes along the western coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, which were also marginal to the distribution of subincision, may be implied to not extend this ceremony to all youths, for Foelsche remarks that

[15] Spencer and Gillen, 1899, p. 264; 1904, p. 330.
[16] Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 19.
[17] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 159.

youths are *selected* for this ceremony.[18] This takes place when an initiate is about eighteen, four years after circumcision has been performed.[19] Among another peripheral group, submission to the operation seems to have been avoided by many youths who would expatriate themselves and take up residence with peoples who did not practice this ceremony. Roth, for instance, reports that many Pitta-

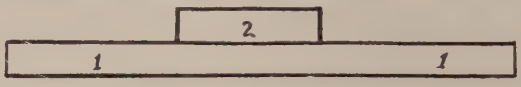

Fig. 3. Cross-section of Distribution for Subincision (left to right, Southwest Australia, Central Australia, Queensland): 1, Subincision not compulsory; 2, Subincision compulsory.

pitta and members of other tribes where subincision was practiced, would escape to the Cloncurry District[20] where they would not have to submit to this rite. For southwestern Australia, that is within the distribution of subincision, Helms makes a blanket statement which he applies to the Everard Range tribe in the interior of South Australia on the east to the tribes of the Murchison District in West Australia on the west He says:

"All aborigines of the interior (he uses this term in contrast to the coastal country) circumcise, and also slit the urethra. . . . That circumcision precedes the other seems to be sufficiently well confirmed by the fact that some young men were met with who had had the first-mentioned rite performed upon them, but not the latter." [21]

Some may be inclined to raise a logical objection to this type of evidence for they may surmise that subincision in these localities may be performed at a much later period of life than in the central regions. However, there is nothing in the quotations given which would tend to indicate that all the old men, as opposed to the young men, are subincised. Regardless of whether this is so or not, the fact that subincision does not take place within a short time after circumcision, is in itself an admission of a marginal condition, for among the more centrally located groups, subincision is performed within a compara-

[18] Foelsche, P., 1881, p. 17.

[19] This information is not in accord with that of Stretton, 1893, pp. 232-233. He states that subincision is performed at the same time as circumcision.

[20] Roth, op. cit., p. 178.

[21] Op. cit., p. 249. White, S. A., op. cit., pp. 726-727, visited the Everard Range group about 1914 and claims to have seen only one case of subincision.

tively short time after circumcision. The Arunta, for example, allowed sometimes only an interim of five or six weeks.[22]

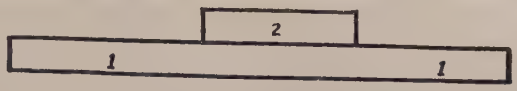

Fig. 4. Cross-section of Distribution for Subincision (from left to right, Southwest Australia, Central Australia, Queensland): 1, Subincision performed years after circumcision; 2, Subincision soon after circumcision.

It must not be implied from the above that all of the peripheral tribes present less intense, less common or more divergent characteristics. This is not so; nevertheless, it is important to notice that when these irregularities are reported, they are to be found only among groups at or near the margin of distribution. On the other hand, the Mulierra of the Upper Sanford river of West Australia, who represent the extreme western margin of the practice of subincision, are reported to perform the rite of subincision at or about the same time as circumcision and the avulsion of teeth.[23] Again, in South Australia, the Yerkla-mining tribe of the coast apparently practice subincision in a more intense form than do the Everard Range tribe to the inland, whose habitat is located more toward the central region. Influences, however, may have come to the Yerkla-mining more from the east, where their neighbors at Fowler's Bay and the Parnkalla to the inland seem to practice subincision more consistently than the Everard Range people. The latter, however, it must be pointed out, because of the conditions of their geography and climate seem to be quite alienated from their neighbors to the north, with whom they are not on friendly terms, and in addition, as has been stated, the conditions which have been applied to them as typical, are also applicable to their neighbors to their west, and it is with the latter that they seem to have the closest affinities. Then again, here may be some very conservative influence among them which prevents a more rapid assimilation of a new culture trait although this suggestion does not seem likely in view of the fact that the peoples to the west are also reported to show the same characteristics as themselves. This condition I would interpret to indicate that influences were penetrating to

[22] Spencer and Gillen, 1899, p. 251.
[23] Curr, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 377.

them from a northeast direction. Instead of conservativeness being the cause, it would seem to be nearer correct to consider them all as being marginal, for this is substantiated by their location.

To summarize the foregoing information, it would seem permissible to conclude that subincision is a practice which is indigenous to Australia and that its point of origin lies somewhere within the interior of the continent. The application of the method of determining culture stratification by means of geographical distribution seems to bring out forcefully in this case the conclusion that subincision, in its original form in the interior of the continent, consisted of a slight longitudinal cut or perhaps just a hole being made in the penis at a time subsequent to circumcision. In addition, we may surmise that subincision was practiced at first more or less voluntarily by various individuals of the group. As time went on and the practice became more general, there gradually developed the idea that the rite should be compulsory and that the operation itself should consist of a greater wound. Finally some individual introduced the idea that a second cut should be made in order to make the original wound deeper and more complete and this innovation, in a comparatively small area in the interior, in turn became institutionalized. Apparently, in its early history, subincision was performed at no particular time except that it never preceded circumcision. If we may judge its original condition by the facts of the present as they are found around the periphery of distributions, the conclusion that the time of the performance of subincision has been gradually brought nearer and nearer to that of circumicision seems to be inevitable for among the marginal tribes several years very often are allowed to lapse between the two ceremonies whereas among the centrally located peoples, an interim of only a few weeks is permitted.

It is now necessary to consider the possibility that subincision may be in origin exdigenous to the continent of Australia. As I have pointed out, all indications seem to lead to the conclusion that this ceremony originated somewhere in the interior of the continent and diffused gradually in all directions toward the coastal regions. We have noticed on all counts that the more complex appearances and the more institutionalized factors tend to be located within the central regions of distribution while the more simple manifestations are

reported from the peripheral districts. In other words, the marginal areas present less intense conditions, in some form or other, whereas the central region is characterized consistently by factors of institutional intensity, complexity and unanimity.

Now conditions such as have been described, would seem to show conclusively, on the basis of the geographical distribution theory, that influences were extending outward from a central region and that these influences have subsequently reached the peripheral locations. We should not be content to accept this conclusion however, until we have subjected it to a criticism based upon the possibilities of an external influence introducing this trait into the continent, particularly since this unique practice has been reported as present in Fiji and the Amazon basin in South America. Obviously, in respect to a possible diffusion into Australia it would seem permissible to exclude immediately from consideration those regions along the coasts in which this trait is lacking, for we may feel fairly certain that subincision is a trait that would hardly be received and passed on without leaving some traces as to its existence, if not in the very region itself, then at least in those areas which are located contiguous to it. That is, it would appear that if it had been introduced into a coastal region from without the continent and subsequently diffused inland, we should also expect to find an accompanying diffusion in both directions along the coast. As no regions give even the slightest suggestion that such has been the case, but on the other hand, consistently imply that such has not taken place, it would seem to be logically correct to conclude that in those coastal regions in which subincision is absent, it has never yet occurred there. If this conclusion is acceptable, then we may immediately exclude from consideration the entire coast of Australia with the exception of three districts. These are: (1) The southern coast of Australia from Spencer Gulf to the western extremity of the Great Australian Bight, and on the northern coast; (2) The southern shore of Cambridge Gulf, and (3) The southern coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria. These three regions are the only coastal areas in which subincision is practiced. In spite of the fact that these three areas show the presence of subincision in its simpler and less intense forms, some may be prone to believe that in one of these districts there may have existed a possible avenue through which

subincision may have invaded the continent. Now it goes almost without saying, that the coastal districts of the southern part of the continent may be immediately excluded from consideration. Certainly no one, even the most fantastically minded individual, would maintain for a moment that this region, where no watercraft of any kind are to be found and south of which there is no inhabited land, could offer even the slightest opportunity for the introduction of any culture traits or even any peoples themselves. By the process of elimination, therefore, we have two possible coastal areas in the north through which there is a meager chance that subincision reached the Australian continent.

Now in order to show that either of these two areas, the Cambridge Gulf or the Gulf of Carpentaria, was the medium by which subincision reached Australia, it is necessary for an exponent of this theory to demonstrate firstly from whence these influences came and by whom they could have been introduced, and secondly, he must attempt to explain, if such an introduction has taken place, why these influences were not also introduced into Arnhem Land and furthermore, why they never diffused into the latter region but only penetrated in an inland direction.

In the first place, it is known that Malayan natives, in the present day at least, come into the region of Cambridge Gulf to fish, but since subincision is not a property of these people, the possibility that they are responsible for its appearance in Australia can be dismissed immediately without further comment. We have left the possibility of the Gulf of Carpentaria having been influenced from the north, although Cambridge Gulf may also have been subject to the same pressure. It is now fairly well known that there has been considerable influence from New Guinea exerted upon Arnhem Land and Cape York and so it would seem logical to suspect that any influences which may have been responsible for the introduction of subincision may possibly have come in through one of these two regions.

Now Arnhem Land, that huge extremity of the Northern Territory, although not projecting as near to New Guinea as Cape York, has, like the latter, received seemingly considerable pressure from New Guinea. These influences, of course, were made by water and it is quite obvious that navigators in their journeys may completely

pass by nearer land bodies and for some undeterminable reason, either consciously or subconsciously, sail on to land located farther away. Caution therefore is necessary when one is to draw deductions from culture diffusion that has taken place by means of water routes. However, in spite of the possibility that some hypothetical group could have introduced subincision into the Cambridge Gulf area or the region south of the Gulf of Carpentaria after passing by completely Arnhem Land or Cape York, the chance of such a possibility would seem to be very small indeed.

If we regard this matter from the point of view of navigation, it would seem quite certain that the Australians did not learn of the practice of subincision, nor for that matter of any other widely distributed Australian culture trait, by themselves visiting other peoples. The Australians, as is well known, are not navigators, neither at the present time nor seemingly at any time in the past. However, if we will admit for the moment the possibility that some Australian group did voyage to some place where they learned to subincise then it must be concluded that such a group could have beeen one of only two peoples—either the inhabitants of the northern coast of Arnhem Land or the natives of Cape York. These two Australian groups are the only ones of that continent which possess watercraft capable of an extended sea journey. The former use a wooden canoe without the outrigger while the latter have the real outrigger canoe. Neither of these people practice subincision, however, so our attempt to place the responsibility for the introduction upon them would seem to be futile. Furthermore, it is evident that these advanced types of watercraft are of recent acquisition by the Australians, whereas subincision, in view of the wide distribution, must be of much greater antiquity. No more of a case may be made out for those groups of Cambridge Gulf and the Gulf of Carpentaria who do subincise, for both of them possess only crude sewn bark canoes which surely are too frail to venture safely far into the open sea.

On the other hand, visits by foreign natives may have been responsible for the introduction of subincision. Now it seems evident that the wooden canoe of Arnhem Land and the outrigger canoe of Cape York are craft which are not indigenous to Australia, but have

resulted from some foreign influence. Since all the rest of Australia is characterized by the crudest kind of water craft and since the outrigger in its various forms is found throughout the Nesian world to the north,[24] it seems quite obvious that there must have been some contact between the natives of these two regions. However, it appears evident that these foreign groups did not practice subincision, for we find no appearances of this trait in the two regions where the advanced type of water craft, along with other culture traits, were introduced. It may be stated, of course, that the absence of a trait is not conclusive proof that it was not practiced by the visiting or trading group, for it would seem absurd to insist that every property of a people must be taken over by a group which adopts one or more; nevertheless, the chance that subincision was practiced by these visitors or newcomers would seem to be exceedingly small. If we may seize upon this slim possibility that they did subincise at least we can be quite sure that this trait was not introduced into either Arnhem Land or Cape York. However, some may contend that these seafaring natives may have eventually reached the Gulf of Carpentaria or Cambridge Gulf and that subincision may have been introduced as a result of their visits. If such had been the case, it is surprising to find that other traits, especially the advanced types of canoe, were not also accepted by the natives of these two regions. In other words, there seems to be no reasonable explanation for the existence of the practice of subincision in Australia except as the result of indigenous development, and this conclusion emphasizes the possibility that our method of interpreting geographical distribution in terms of historical development is logically correct.

A form of subincision, however, has been reported from Fiji and Tonga and from Brazil.[25] According to evidence this operation was introduced into the Tongan islands from Fiji, so that as far as these two regions are concerned, there is a common origin for its appearance there. The question now arises as to the likelihood of Australian subincision and Fijian subincision being genetically related. There appear to be several possibilities. Although evidence is entirely against it, let us suppose the following explanations are plausible.

[24] Haddon, 1920, pp. 69-134.
[25] See Rivers, 1926, p. 62 et seq. Karl von den Steinen, 1886.

Subincision in Australia may have been derived from Fiji or, vice versa, the Fijian practice may have resulted from a diffusion from the continent. Both appearances may have come from a third area, geographically intermediate to Fiji and Australia. Still again, the two practices may have originated independently of each other and convergence may be the explanation.

First of all, we should notice that Fiji is separated from the area in Australia in which subincision is performed by more than two thousand miles in a straight line. By water route around Cape York to the southern coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the distance is much greater.

Now the Fijians are admittedly great navigators; however, we have no grounds by which we may suspect that they ever reached any part of Australia, let alone the coastal country in which subincision is now practiced. Subincision is known to have been practiced in Fiji for well over a century, and it is probable that is has existed there for a much greater period. If the Fijians learned of this practice by contact with the Australians, such contact would have to have taken place at a time before this operation was known in the coastal regions, for, as we have seen, there are good grounds for believing that subincision has reached the coastal regions in comparatively recent times. An alternative proposal would be that the Fijians acquired subincision by visiting the interior of the continent, an absurd conclusion. Now there is little possibility that the Fijians ever have been to Australia since they have lived in their present habitat; therefore, in view of the fact that subincision has been known to them for more than a century, we may feel safe in concluding that the Fijians themselves neither introduced the trait into Australia nor derived the practice from that continent. It goes without saying that the Australians did not bring subincision to the Fijians nor could they have learned of it by going to Fiji, for the Australians never have been mariners.

The Fijians undoubtedly came originally from the west and hence it is possible that subincision was one of their culture possessions at the time of their migration. Such a presumption would give a very great antiquity to the Fijian practice and since we have seen that the greater the antiquity the smaller the probable distribution of subin-

cision in Australia, it becomes more and more difficult to relate the two appearances the farther we go back into pre-history. The only explanation would be that the Fijians stopped at Australia on their way to their present habitat, entered the area where subincision was then practiced, acquired a liking for the operation, went back to the coast and their canoes, which evidently did not impress the Australians, and sailed away. Such a conclusion, of course, is ridiculous. Then, too, this conclusion would derive the Fijians' migration by a route to the south of New Guinea in distinct contrast to the comparatively recent extension of the Melanesians into the coastal regions of southeastern New Guinea, a movement which has penetrated southwards and then westwards.

However, subincision may have been obtained by the Australians and the Fijians from a third region. If a diffusion has taken place from this hypothetical place in recent times and the influence entered Australia through one of the coastal districts where it is now present, there certainly would be insufficient time for this practice to spread so thoroughly throughout the continent. Again, if the diffusion were recent the forces which could have diffused the principle to both Australia and Fiji must have been very strong and therefore, we would expect some traces of them to still remain in the original area or other localities, instead of being entirely lost from sight.[26] It is not at all reasonable to believe that such an institution could die out completely if it had only recently influenced two communities twenty-five hundred miles apart.

If we are to assume that the diffusion of subincision took place at a very early time, we are still faced with the problem of explaining the total disappearance throughout all intervening areas but, furthermore, in order to connect such a diffusion with the Australian distribution, we will be forced to disregard completely all the evidence from Australia which has demonstrated that subincision was spreading into the marginal localities from the central regions of more

[26] Roheim, op. cit., p. 445, is very misleading in assigning subincision to the Banaro of the Sepik river district of Northern New Guinea. His information is taken from Thurnwald, 1920. The latter description is similar to Thurnwald, 1916, p. 265, in which he says: "They insert in the urinary passage two or three stems of *Coix lacrima,* a barbed grass. These they pull out suddenly, so that the walls of the passage are cut." Obviously, this rite cannot be classified within our meaning of subincision.

intense development. If subincision reached Australia by a diffusion, it will be necessary to produce evidence to prove that the influences have spread from the coastal area of entry into the inland regions. Such a conclusion would have to disprove the evidence which I have presented, which shows the concentricity in the historical developments of the trait.

On the other hand, if my evidence is to be accepted, then it will be necessary to assume that the original diffusion to Australia came in by way of a coastal district, spread inland *in only one direction,* disappeared in the coastal region, became established in the center of the continent and then diffused in a normal manner in all directions and back into the coastal area where it was introduced. A still further explanation which would include a diffusion from the outside in connection with the evidence I have offered would be an actual invasion into the center of the continent by the carriers of the trait. Such an invasion, however, would have to have been at a very ancient time, in fact, long enough ago that there would be time for all remembrance of it to disappear entirely for, as we know, there are no migration legends in Australia. Furthermore, a very ancient introduction of subincision would hardly suit the Australian manifestations, for subincision appears to be the most recent of the initiatory rites.

Now we have been discussing this problem from hypothetical angles which have led us to nothing but absurdities, and which have required the abolition of all our evidences and reasonable deductions. To reconsider the matter without prejudice of any kind and based upon the facts as we have them, it is to be noticed that we have but these three appearances of subincision, one occupying a wide distribution in Australia, another having a comparatively small distribution in Fiji and Tonga and the third occuring far away in South America. Between these areas there is no evidence at the present time to show any connection. In view of the great area in Australia occupied by subincision, it seems reasonable to believe that a greater antiquity is necessary to allow for the diffusion of the rite throughout this huge area, than that required to spread the idea in Fiji and Tonga. In other words, because of the extent of distribution, it seems logical to suppose that the Australian appearance has a greater antiquity than

that of Fiji. On this basis, if the two operations are genetically related, there is more possibility of the Fijian practice being derived from Australia than vice versa. It is ridiculous to surmise that the idea was taken from Australia to Fiji by a seafaring people before the practice reached the coastal regions and hence, if a transmission of this operation to Fiji did actually happen, it must have been at a comparatively recent time. However, if the movement has been a recent one, then we have a right to insist that more evidence should be available from the intervening islands where apparently subincision has never been heard of.

So far we have ignored entirely the possibility that the three appearances may be the result of independent origins and that convergence may be the explanation for the three separate distributions. Such a conclusion in respect to Australia and Fiji has been considered by Rivers as unfounded, yet he has produced no concrete evidence to support his claim that there is genetic relationship between the two. We have already seen that subincision in Australia is connected solely with the magico-religious phenomena of initiation. In Fiji and Tonga, however, the incentive for this operation is entirely different, for as Rivers himself states, "It is a strictly therapeutical measure with no trace of any religious or magical sanction."[27] In Fiji the operation is performed as follows:

"A reed is passed into the urethra as far as the membraneous portion, where an incision about an inch in length is formed. Blood flows abundantly from the aperture, together with urine which is evacuated by this opening. . . . In another operation . . . the urethra is completely opened from the membraneous portion to the meatus. . . . In the Tongan operation, a reed is first wetted with saliva and is passed into the urethra so as to occasion irritation and the discharge of blood. If the discharge is very violent, a double thread is looped over the end of the reed before it is passed into the urethra. When the reed is felt in the perineum, it is cut down upon and one thread drawn from the aperture, so that when the reed is withdrawn, one end of the thread hangs from the meatus and the other end, forming a seton, from the opening in the perineum. The thread is occasionally drawn backwards and forwards, producing great pain and much discharge of blood."[28]

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[27] Op. cit., p. 67.
[28] Op. cit., pp. 66, 67.

Now it must be admitted that there is a great deal of similarity between the Fijian and Australian operations; nevertheless, similarity is not identity and furthermore, the use of the thread seton and the cutting of the perineum seem to be practices unknown in Australia. Undoubtedly these are due to the special purposes of the operation in Fiji, where it is performed "with the intention of preventing the occurrence of those diseases for which the operation is regarded as a remedy." It is also said "to remove the evil humours of the body." Mariner reports that the operation is performed as a cure for tetanus.[29] Another cause for its practice is to remove blood in the abdominal cavity produced by wounds in the abdomen. Still again this operation is performed, according to Rivers, "for general debility, but usually in this case the reed is only passed into the urethra to produce irritation and haemorrhage and no incision is made in the perineum."[30] Rivers thus concludes that the motives for the operation are of two kinds.

"The operation acts as a counter-irritant and as a means of evacuating blood and possibly other bad humours, which are believed to be producing or helping to produce disease."

Judging the two appearances of subincision from purely a functional point of view, it appears that there is less and less reason to consider them as necessarily genetically related. Surely if these operations were separated from each other by greater distances only the most radical diffusionist would insist upon an inherent connection. For instance, the form of subincision reported from the Amazon basin in South America cannot be related genetically with that of Fiji or Australia in spite of the fact that it, too, is performed for therapeutical reasons.

"In Brazil the waters are inhabited by a small transparent fish (about 2 cms. long) which has the objectionable habit of finding its way into the urethra of any bathing natives. The fins of the fish being directed backwards, like the barbs of a spear, it becomes a difficult matter to remove the intruder once the spines have embedded themselves in the mucosa of the canal. Occasionally simple immersion of the penis in hot water may succeed in removing the fish, but in most cases an operation is necessary, by which the urethra is slit

[29] Mariner, 1817, Vol. II, p. 254.
[30] Op. cit., p. 67.

longitudinally in much the same way as the Australian natives perform the subincision."[31]

Surely this appearance of subincision in Brazil is entirely unrelated to either the Australian or Fijian operation and so it seems that we may rest assured that convergence is the explanation for at least two localities.

Although subincision is practiced in Australia mainly as an initiation rite, Basedow is of the opinion that its origin on that continent may have been of a therapeutical nature. For instance, he says,

"From a careful consideration of the facts at our command, it would appear that the rite of subincision originated on the north coast of Australia, that is, in a tropical region. . . . It needs no stretch of the imagination to assume that acute inflammation of the prepuce, glands, and urethra might periodically have seriously affected many of the male members of the tribe." [32]

Basedow believes that it would not be uncommon for the natives of the tropical regions who lead a hunting existence and are naked, to find a

"splinter, burr, grass seed, insect, grit, etc. . . . lodged in his urethra."

Furthermore, he suggests, a native, while in the waters of this region, would be subject to the same trouble from

"all sorts of crawling and burrowing crustaceans, insects and other vermin." [33]

Although this question has never received proper investigation from such an angle, it is important to note that these reports all emanate from tropical regions and thus there may exist some foundation for the claims made in their behalf. Circumcision, too, in its aboriginal distribution seems to be limited to tropical regions and here again there is a suggestion for a new field of research. If it ever can be shown that subincision, and perhaps circumcision, as an operation has resulted from causes determined by climate and tropical conditions, there would be no question as to the independent developments of this operation in the different regions of the world.

This point, however, has not yet been substantiated, and so it is necessary to consider the possibilities of diffusion. As we have seen, it is only reasonable to assume that subincision, as it appears in Brazil

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[31] Quoted by Basedow, op. cit., p. 145, from Max Bartels' Die Medecin der Naturvölker, 1893, p. 298, who in turn refers to Karl von den Steinen's Durch Central Brazilien.

[32] Basedow, op. cit., p. 144.

[33] Ibid., p. 145.

at least, is indigenous in that district. Now, if it is logical to believe that convergence is possible in any two localities, then it would seem reasonable to believe that such an explanation may be applicable to Australia and Fiji which are twenty-five hundred miles apart. As Rivers says,

> "In the one place, it is a method of curing disease, while in the other it is a rite by which youths become entitled to rank as men. . . . They (the operations) serve wholly different purposes and are performed from wholly different motives."

To Rivers there are two possible explantions for the appearances of subincision in Australia and Fiji:

> "One is that the procedure of subincision belongs to the culture of a people who once occupied the whole of this part of Australasia, and that the practice has only persisted in Fiji and certain parts of Australia, undergoing divergent lines of evolution, which, in one place or the other or in both, has greatly changed its original purpose. Thus, it has now become a purely therapeutical practice in one place and a purely magico-religious rite in the other. It might be urged in favor of this view that very similar skulls occur in Viti Levu and Australia, skulls which bear a closer resemblance to the ancient Neanderthal skulls of Europe than in any other part of the world.
>
> "The alternative hypothesis is that some migrant people, who practiced subincision, either as a therapeutical practice or a ceremonial rite, introduced it into Fiji and Australia, and that, in the process of assimilation into the indigenous culture of the two places, it has undergone such transformation as now give it its wholly different purpose in the two places. The special form of this hypothesis which seems the most likely to be true is that a migrant people introduced the use of a urethra seton as a remedy for disease, and that this has largely maintained its original purpose in Fiji, while in Australia it has taken on the special magico-religious purpose, characteristic of the aboriginal Australian culture. Having wholly lost all traces of its therapeutic purpose, it has become a purely ceremonial rite."[84]

In view of all the facts of the case which have been discussed, it seems apparent that Rivers has erected a purely fictitious scheme to explain the presence of subincision in these two regions, for, in doing this, he has neglected to take into consideration the facts of distribution in Australia and he has minimized not only the distance separating the two peoples, but also the differences in the intention of

[84] Op. cit., pp. 68, 69.

the performers of the operation. It may be argued, too, on the basis of Rivers' assumption that a migrant people practiced this operation "*either* as a therapeutical practice *or* as a ceremonial rite," that if either one of these purposes could have caused the origin of subincision in one region, either might have caused its origin in two entirely different communities. Perhaps Rivers, through some uncanny sense of foresight, has hit upon a solution which will eventually be proved; however, in view of our data at the present time, I can see no reason for supporting his contention, for, as we have seen, the facts, as we know them, offer his theory no substantiation unless we are willing to disregard all values of distribution, intensity in development and functional purposes in the operation.

Certainly everyone will agree with Rivers that

> "If those closely similar practices have arisen independently, we have to suppose that in this part of the world two peoples of rude culture have not only independently invented a most extraordinary surgical procedure, but that this invention was prompted by wholly different motives in the two places."

In fact, we may go further than Rivers for we may state that this invention may have been prompted by identical motives in three different places. Such a conclusion requires only a conservative theoretical estimation which does not invalidate the data on hand, whereas any effort to link together the appearances in Fiji and Australia requires, in addition to an entire disregard of Australian facts, the erection of a most radical set of assumptions to reconstruct a possible means of relationship.

Now, although the operation of subincision in Australia and Fiji is most plausibly explained as resultant from two independent origins and developments, there is a widely spread practice of an analagous nature throughout the Pacific. This operation, which is known as incision,[35] consists of slitting the prepuce, but, in contrast to subincision, it consists of slitting the prepuce only. The question now arises as to whether or not there is any historical relationship between incision and subincision. In the first place, as we have seen in Australia, subincision is always performed subsequently to circumcision. In the Pacific Islands, however, subincision and circumcision

[35] Incision is widely spread in Polynesia, Melanesia and Indonesia. See Loeb, 1923; Rivers, 1926., pp. 62, 63; Rivers, 1914, Vol. 2, pp. 432, 436, 532, 540, 554.

are not found together except in Fiji.[36] Circumcision is reported to be present in Fiji, the island of Malekula in the New Hebrides, in New Britain among the Sulka and in the Philippines,[37] but at no other place. The Mohammedan type of circumcision is practiced in Sumatra, Java, Borneo and other Indonesian islands and in the Straits Settlements.

Judging from the distribution of incision in the Pacific area, its location seems to be marginal to that of circumcision. Incision is certainly simpler and cruder than the latter and apparently, therefore, we have good grounds to suspect that in the eastern Pacific at least, it is perhaps a forerunner to circumcision itself. In Fiji, however, where both occur, Rivers thinks that circumcision has been displaced by incision due to influence from Tonga. He gives no data in support of this opinion. However, regardless of which existed in Fiji at the earlier time, it is important to note that a clash betweeen the two seems to have taken place and that here, too, we find the appearance of subincision. Rivers claims that "the operation of subincision differs wholly in origin and nature from circumcision and incision," another contention which in view of the characteristics of circumcision and incision does not seem logical. Incision implies a longitudinal slit in the dorsal part of the prepuce. Circumcision consists in the removal of a large part of the prepuce. If incision were made so that the cut penetrated through the prepuce and into the membraneous tissue of the penis, we would have a very close approximation to subincision. The only difference is that in Australian subincision a subject is first circumcised after which the longitudinal cut is made in the dorsal part of the membraneous tissue. In its complete aspect this "incision" would extend in depth as far as the urethra and in length from the meatus to the junction of the penis with the scrotum. The divorce of subincision from circumcision and incision, therefore, does not appear to be at all evident. On the other hand, there may be a very close connection, for subincision may represent in Fiji, at least, a complex resulting from a union of the ideas involved in the two separate traits of circumcision and incision. It seems reasonable to believe that

[36] We have already discussed the occurrence of subincision in Fiji. Rivers states that incision has replaced circumcision there at the present time. It is possible that some circumcision is still practiced there. See Rivers, 1926, p. 62.

[37] Buschan, 1923.

wherever circumcision and incision happen to meet, *subincision may result* if both ideas are combined. This does not mean that subincision is always to be expected, for the meeting of circumcision and incision may cause the elimination of one and the retention of the other.

In Australia both subincision and circumcision are practiced, but there seem to be no reports of the presence of incision as it is known in the other regions of the Pacific. However, we are led to the question of whether incision could have been introduced into Australia after circumcision had become established and, as a result, have caused the development of subincision. We have inferred that if incision were attempted after circumcision had been performed, subincision would be a logical result. We must admit that this is a theoretical possibility, yet, on the basis of recorded data, there seems to be no more logical grounds for this conclusion than there were to support the theory that subincision, itself, had been diffused into Australia. The entire eastern coast of the continent from Cape York southward is entirely devoid of both subincision and circumcision, and this region, especially in the north, is one which is certainly exposed to influences from Melanesia, where incision is known. Loeb indicates the presence of incision in New Guinea among the Yabim, Bukana, Kai and Tami[38], but since their location is in the northeastern part of the island, no reasonable connection can be established between them and the Australians who practice subincision.

In fact, throughout the entire southern coast of New Guinea, at least in those regions for which we have any information, there is no information which may be interpreted as a possible background from which either incision or subincision could have been derived, and it is to this part of New Guinea that we naturally look for any influences which might have affected Australia[39]. It is quite impos-

[38] Loeb, op. cit. This information is derived from Frazer, 1911, Vol. II, p. 240. Frazer, who in turn has secured his information from a number of sources, speaks of circumcision as the prevailing operation. A number of authors on the Pacific islands have used the term circumcision when incision was implied.

Chalmers, 1887, p. 147, speaks of circumcision at Rook Island, which is off the northeast coast. According to his statement, it was the first example of the practice of this custom that he had met in New Guinea or its neighborhood. Rook Island, according to Rivers, op. cit., p. 63, should be included ethnographically with New Britain.

[39] In respect to this locality, Seligman, 1910, reports that no initiation ceremonies were held among the Papuo-Melanesians, Tubetube (p. 493), or

sible to glean any information from the initiation ceremonies of the tribes of this region, however, for these seem to have been but simply developed there, in fact, for some of these tribes, reports go to show that they have none whatsoever.

It would not be so difficult to dissociate the possible influence of incision upon subincision in Australia were it not for the practice among the performers of both to insert some kind of a bone or stick under the part to be cut[40]. This practice has already been mentioned for the Australians and the Fijians. The idea of this device is apparently to form a table to assist in cutting and to prevent the blade of the knife from cutting farther than intended. This method, however, is evidently not used universally either in Australia[41] or the Pacific, at least affirmation for all localities has not been made. The solution of this problem cannot be definitely solved until we know more concerning the total distribution to the use of this "table." An arch-diffusionist will naturally insist that there must be historical connection between all the appearances of this device within the areas of subincision and incision. Others, however, may contend that no conclusion should be drawn until more definite information has been brought to light. The determination of this point seemingly rests upon the importance which different ones may place upon this means of aid. Some may incline to the opinion that the use of a cutting table in the form of a bone, stick or reed, represents an idea which would probably not occur to two different peoples

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Wagawaga (p. 489). Among the natives of Bartel Bay (pp. 494-498) and Yule Island (p. 258) he designates the ceremonies as simple. However, among the Elema tribes of the Papuan Gulf there were long initiation ceremoniees in contrast to the Roro among whom such were absent. Incision, circumcision and subincision, however, seem to be entirely absent from all of these peoples since none are spoken of for any of the tribes mentioned.

Wollaston, 1912, p. 113, reports the presence of the bamboo penis case among the Mimika Papuans. This "is kept in position by pulling the preputium through a hole in the lower end of the case" thus indicating that there is no penile laceration.

[40] Brown, G., 1910, p. 382 says that among the Samoans "The operator inserted a piece of chacoal into the prepuce and cut upon it, making an incision the whole length of the prepuce."

Handy, 1923, pp. 94-97 mentions the fact that a piece of wood is inserted under the foreskin after which a longitudinal slit is made, allowing the foreskin to hang down like a flap.

[41] No stick or bone is used among the Central or Northern Tribes. See Basedow, op. cit., p. 136, Stirling, op. cit., p. 27; Roth, 1897, p. 178.

faced with the same problem Others will probably contend that the principle is such a simple one that its appearance in different localities offers no problem at all to be explained. They may maintain that the use of a base or table is a practice known to almost every people throughout the world, who do cutting of any kind. Obviously, until more accurate details in description and distribution of this device are forthcoming, any solution must be based upon interpretation and personal opinion and not upon facts. Then, too, the possibility must not be overlooked that subincision in Australia may have developed without the influence of incision. Incision is certainly lacking there at the present time and if it has existed in the past it has left no tangible traces. Furthermore, subincision is performed by many Australian tribes without the use of a cutting table, and, it may be that this principle is a derivative trait in the subincision complex instead of being a contributory one.

Summary

To summarize our information on subincision, all indications seem to point to the conclusion that subincision is indigenous to Australia. There seems to be no logical explanation, in view of the facts, which would allow for its importation into the continent. Its distribution there is contiguous and, furthermore, within the central areas the ceremonies connected with it are intensely institutionalized, whereas in the marginal regions there is considerable simplicity. In the central regions it is unanimously practiced, but around the periphery this condition is not to be observed. In the central area a second cutting is practiced, but this has not been reported elsewhere. Finally, in Central Australia, the operation itself is complete in the sense that it extends the whole length of the penis, while in the marginal regions there is not only a lack of uniformity within each single tribe, but in addition, the cuts themselves vary considerably in extent. In other words, complexity, intensity, uniformity and consistency characterize the central area, while in the peripheral regions we notice simplicity, superficiality, individuality, and irregularity as the determining factors.

CHAPTER IV

Initiation Rites (Continued)

Circumcision

Circumcision, as it is practiced in Australia, is an initiation ceremony, which, as has been noted already, takes place previously to subincision. It hardly needs to be said, therefore, that it is to be found throughout the area of the latter. The total distribution of circumcision, however, is much greater for, in addition, it extends beyond and outflanks in all directions the more restricted distribution of subincision. Circumcision thus has a contiguous distribution, and occurs, according to reports, in southwestern Queensland,[1] South Australia,[2] New South Wales,[3] West Australia,[4] and the Northern Territory[5]. It is specifically lacking throughout northern Arnhem Land, the York Peninsula, northeast, east and southeast Australia, and the western coastal districts[6]. It is to be noticed, therefore, that it is

[1] For a general summary of the distribution of the practice of circumcision see Curr, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 75 and Roheim, 1925, plate facing page 364.

Outflanking the tribes who subincise in addition to circumcision are the following who practice circumcision only: Wonkomarra, Curr, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 38; Kungarditchi, ibid, pp. 378-379; Karawalla, ibid, p. 371; Yelima, ibid. p. 346. It should be noted for the last mentioned that circumcision is not practiced on all of the men of the tribe.

[2] Wilya, Kongait, Bulalli, Howitt, op. cit., p. 375. Also see Matthews, R. H., 1898 (A), plate 12.

[3] Narranga, ibid., p. 671. Port Lincoln group, Wilhelmi, p. 24.

[4] Wajeri, Peedong, Curr. op cit., Vol. I, p. 306; Injibandi, Brown, A. R., 1913, p. 168. It may be stated that Brown found the information of Clement, 1904, pp. 9-11, which assigned circumcision to the Maratunia, Gnalluma, Ingibandi, Pidunga, Kaiearra, Gnalla, Gnamo and Balga (Clement's spelling) as erroneous in respect to the coast tribes. According to Brown, the Kariera and other coast tribes did not circumcise although among the southern Kariera, individuals were sometimes initiated by their southern and inland neighbors, the Injibandi, which tribe did practice this rite. Roebuck Bay tribe is listed by Roheim, op. cit., p. 364, as practicing circumcision.

[5] Worgait, Brinken, Mulluk-mulluk, Wulwullam, Djauan, Nullakun, Warrai, Spencer, 1914, pp. 90-91. This distribution is also mentioned by Calvert, 1894, p. 45, and by Foelsche, P., 1881, p. 6.

[6] The eastern types of initiation ceremonies will be described later. For the western coastal districts, Curr, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 289, reports that the West Coast Tribes from the De Gray river to Albany (1500 miles) do not circumcise although the inland tribes do. He also says that the latter subincise, but this information is not correlated in distribution with circumcision. For other reports of the absence of circumcision among the coastal tribes and the presence of the same among the inland peoples see ibid, pp. 291, 298, 303, 306, 342, 343.

distributed in a manner similar to that of subincision except that it is more exensive. In other words, considering the two together, circumcision as it occurs singly is marginal to the location of circumcision with subincision, for the latter never occurs without the former. We know, too, that subincision is an operation which is performed subsequently to that of circumcision and this seems to reflect the historic chronology between the two. Substantiation, therefore, is given to the geographical distribution method of interpreting the precedence of peripheral conditions over those found to be more centrally located, in order to distinguish a stratification of culture traits.

We may now turn to the problem of the place of origin of circumcision itself, that is, in so far as it pertains to the Australians. The question which concerns us is whether circumcision is indigenous to Australia or a trait which has been imported into the continent.

Circumcision, as is well known, is a very commonly distributed world trait. The Australians are generally supposed to be culturally very backward human beings. At first sight, therefore, one would naturally assume that many cultural elements which have a wide distribution in other regions, have diffused to Australia in comparatively recent times. Such may seem to be the explanation for the occurrence of circumcision among these people. Does the distribution, however, bear out this conclusion? To this query we must answer, no. If we will consider circumcision from the same point of view as that which we took for subincision, we cannot easily avoid the same conclusion that was arrived at for the latter. Circumcision in Australia is not located in those regions which are most susceptible to outside influence except in the Kimberley district, where it seems to occur along the coast, and where there is a possibility that it has been derived from Mohammedan sources, via the Malayan fishermen. This conclusion, however, is extremely weak, for in the first place, it assumes a comparatively recent introduction of circumcision. This could be a few hundred years at the most, a length of time hardly sufficient to explain the extensive diffusion throughout the continent, and to account for the institutionalization of this trait in all parts of this vast area. At the same time it would not explain why other parts of the northwest coast, which surely were subject to the same or similar influences from without, never received the

idea of circumcision either directly or by means of diffusion from the neighboring area which supposedly passed this idea on to the rest of the continent.

Now, of course, some may retort that many peoples do not necessarily adopt a new culture trait just because they happen to come in contact with it. Such a statement is too true to need comment. Nevertheless, we have no fair grounds for presuming that the coastal tribes of northwest Australia were hostile to the introduction of circumcision, for it seems quite certain that if Europeans had delayed their discovery of Australia for a few centuries the practice of circumcision in that continent would now be occupying a much greater distribution than it does today. Circumcision is, or was, until a very few years ago, a living and a growing institution, for it was slowly evolving into complexity, the central regions having given rise to subincision, as we have already seen, while along its periphery it apparently was continuously spreading outward toward all the coastal regions. Let us take, for instance, the Kariera of the northwest coast. This tribe and its coastal neighbors did not practice circumcision as late as 1912, although the next inland tribe to the south, the Injibandi, performed this operation. According to Brown, men of the southern Kariera sometimes went to the Injibandi to be initiated. Although Brown does not say specifically that these individuals became circumcised, such would seem to be implied by the fact that they were initiated. If this is so our conclusion can only be that circumcision was slowly penetrating toward the northwest coastal tribes and that a diffusion had not taken place, to the contrary, in the other direction. From the geographical distribution we would expect to find just such a marginal condition and such is to be noticed in other peripheral districts. For instance, among the centrally located tribes, circumcision was a requisite for admission into the full status of manhood, and every male was required to undergo this ceremony. On the northern periphery, however, in Arnhem Land, it was possible for the young men who objected to this rite to escape to the north and take up their residence with tribes where this requirement was lacking. Although there was evidently a penalty for such an avoidance, in a few years this was overlooked and the youths were no longer subject to molestation by their fellow tribesmen, although

to the latter, the uncircumcised boys were known as Larrikiyas, the name of the Port Darwin tribe, which did not circumcise, and which offered a haven of refuge to the non-conformists.[7] For the eastern periphery of circumcision there are also reports which demonstrate marginal conditions. The Yelima tribe of the Burke river in western Queensland are described by Curr as practicing circumcision, although he adds that not all of the men had been subjected to this rite.[8] Further to the southeast, and also on the periphery, were the Wonkomarra, who dwelled on the Bulloo river, near Thargominda. For them we are informed that

"some only of the males were circumcised."[9]

Generally speaking, too, as was noticed in respect to subincision, the youths of the peripheral tribes usually undergo circumcision at a later age than do the boys of the centrally located tribes among whom the operation is performed at early adolescence.

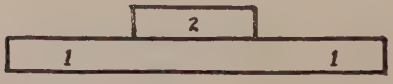

Fig. 5. Cross-section of Distribution for Circumcision (from left to right, Northern Australia, Central Australia, Western Queensland): 1, Not all males circumcised; 2, Circumcision required of all males.

In view of the gradations of the intensity in which circumcision is practiced, it seems difficult to draw any conclusions which would relate its appearance in Australia with this operation as it is performed by other peoples in the Pacific. This practice is apparently unknown in New Guinea, although when this island is thoroughly studied, a different conclusion may have to be drawn; it is not performed by the Melanesians of the southeastern coast of British New Guinea, and these people are the most logical ones who might bring new ideas from Melanesia to Australia. In Melanesia proper circumcision has been reported from Fiji, the island of Malekula (New Hebrides), New Britain, where it seems to be confined to the Sulka only, and Rook island, which ethnographically should be considered

[7] Mackillop, 1893, p. 257.
[8] Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 346.
[9] Ibid., p. 38.

as part of New Britain. The presence of circumcision in these localities seems to offer a very logical linear distribution which explains the diffusion of the idea in Melanesia, for the islands mentioned are in line with the generally supposed route of migration of the Melanesians. It is evident, however, that this route leads back along the northern shore of New Guinea, and since the branch of Melanesians, which penetrated around the southeastern extremity of the island and eventually continued westward as far as Papua Gulf, do not seem to be acquainted with circumcision, there seems to be no possible way to connect the practice in Melanesia with that in Australia. Although, in this case again, a solution might be easily reached by dogmatically assuming that there must have been a connection, the traces of which have become obliterated in the course of time, such a conclusion would be far from satisfactory, for it would certainly invalidate the little information we now have at our disposal. Unlike subincision, circumcision is a widely distributed world trait, and for this reason, a theory which supposes that it has been carried to Australia or diffused to that region, has a reasonable basis for its maintenance. Nevertheless, the facts, as we know them at the present time, offer no proof for such a contention. It is to be regretted that a more definite explanation is not warranted. Until our knowledge is more complete, it would seem that any attempt to venture into a speculation which is not based upon facts, would tend to contribute more and more to the confusion of this already complicated problem. If ever we are to arrive at any truthful understanding of this question, it seems apparent that this can be done only by the gathering of more details from the field and not by feats of legerdemain with the facts we now possess.

Avulsion of Teeth

The avulsion of a tooth or teeth as an initiation rite has a widespread distribution in Australia, and throughout the eastern part of the continent, particularly in those regions where subincision and circumcision are absent, it culminates the ceremonies which mark the change in the status of a youth from that of puerility into that of full-fledged manhood. Initiatory avulsion is found in northern

Victoria,[10] New South Wales,[11] most of Queensland except the southeastern portion,[12] western South Australia,[13] and in West Australia.[14] In addition to the foregoing localities there is a vast area in the central regions of the continent, mainly in the Northern Territory, but also extending over into the coastal region of northwestern Queensland, where avulsion is practiced, but where it has no connection with initiation ceremonies.[15] If we may disregard for the moment the differences in the intention of this practice we notice that avulsion is distributed in such a manner that contiguity may be safely implied. In fact the only important regions from which there is a lack of information are those in the interior of western Australia, from which no data of any kind are available. We know from specific reports, which positively deny or negatively fail to confirm its presence, that the performance of tooth extraction does not occur in any connection in southern Victoria, southeastern Queensland, northern Arnhem Land, the western coastal districts, and apparently throughout coastal South Australia.

[10] Barbara-barbara, Burra-burra, Wathi-wathi and other Murray-Darling tribes, Howitt, op. cit., p. 592; Jajaurung, ibid., pps. 613, 616; Ya-itma-thang, ibid, pp. 565-566.

[11] Howitt, op. cit., gives the following: Cammeraygal, Port Jackson group, Geawegal, 566-569; Wiradjuri, 586; Wonghibon, 589; Yuin, 616; Ngarigo, 563; Wolgal, 563-565; Port MacQuarrie and Port Stephens groups, 576; Gringai, 574; Southern Kamilaroi, 595; Tongaranka, 675. Curr, op. cit., Vol. II, reports the Barkinji, p. 198, and the Mulya-napa, p. 159; Taplin, 1879, p. 27, Maroura.

[12] Curr, op. cit., Vol. II, mentions the following: Wonkomarra, 37; Pegulloburra, 475; Halifax Bay group, 425; Oonoomurra, 342; Mirkin, 396; Granite Range group, 403; Roth, op. cit., Bulletin 15, pp. 30-32 gives Kunganji, Kokogellanji, Kokolamalama, Kokowara, Kokorarmal, Yaroikannu, Kokominni; Parker, 1905, p. 74, Euahlayi. Kabi, Matthew, J., 1910, p. 108.

[13] Howitt, op. cit., p. 655, gives the Dieri as a tribe which practices avulsion as an initiation rite. To my mind they should be listed with those tribes who have non-initiatory avulsion. Helms, op. cit., p. 249, however, reports that throughout western South Australia and across the border in southeastern and southern West Australia, the tribes concerned practiced the knocking out of an incisor. This practice, he believes to be connected with initiation, although this opinion is not substantiated.

[14] Muliarra, Curr., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 377; Roebuck Bay Tribe, Niol-niol, Stokes, 1846, Vol. I, pp. 89, 92.

[15] Central Australia, Arunta, Spencer and Gillen, 1899, pp. 259, 450; 1904, p. 588; Kaitish, ibid, 589-590; Warramunga, ibid, 592; Gnangi, Tjingilli, ibid, p. 594; Binbinga, Mara, Anula, Spencer, 1914, p. 596.

Queensland, Pitta Pitta and association groups, Roth, 1897, p. 111. Undekerebina, Yaroinga, Moirli, Kundarg, Karandu, Maungann, Karawalla, Kokotabul, Kokomanjoeu, Roth, 1901, Bull. 15, pp. 30-32. Birria, Kungeiri, Kungarditchi, Curr, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 378.

If, then, we will apply the theory of geographical distribution to this trait, it is quite apparent that here again we find the usual concentric arrangement, for it is to be noticed that as we go from the center of the continent toward the coastal regions a similar sequence takes place in all directions except to the north. From the central regions, where avulsion is non-initiatory, we pass into localities where initiatory avulsion is characteristic, and finally when we come to various coastal regions where the rite, as well as the practice, entirely disappears. From this distribution it seems allowable to conclude that originally there was a period in which no avulsion was practiced. Following this the practice was introduced as an initiatory rite. Finally, in Central Australia this condition degenerated into a custom which now is followed without compulsion by not only males, but by females as well, whereas in those regions where it is an initiatory ceremony, only the males are subjected to it.

There can be no doubt but that non-initiatory dental mutilation of the centrally located tribes was once practiced in connection with an initiation ceremony. It seems logically correct to assume that initiatory avulsion is the result of a common origin in spite of the fact that it occurs in various regions throughout the continent which, on the basis of incomplete data, apparently are unconnected geographically. It also seems to be quite obvious that non-initiatory avulsion is also genetically related to it. If this is not so then it is impossible to explain the outcropping of initiatory extraction in the non-contiguous regions which are separated by the peoples who practice this custom independent of any ceremonial significance. In order to connect initiatory avulsion of the east with that of the west it is necessary to conclude that the intermediate region, at some time in the past, was characterized by this ceremony, and that the custom, as it is found there today, has subsequently degenerated from its former standard. The opinions of the various investigators in the central regions adequately support this contention.[16] A degenerated

[16] Throughout the central region the degeneracy of this ceremony into a voluntary custom is quite apparent. Spencer and Gillen in this connection remark, " . . . . It has nothing to do with initiation, and is, in fact, practiced by men as well as women, the rite having no sacred significance of any kind; and yet, as we shall see later, there is not only evidence which shows that it has once been a ceremony of greater importance than it is at the present day, but also that there are certain details which are curiously similar to those con-

condition is, of course, an advanced condition, for by definition of the term used, it cannot but follow generation. Regarding the problem from this angle, it is apparent that here again we find the most advanced condition in the center, while the more simple appearances are located around the periphery of distribution.

Now, just as circumcision underlies subincision and outflanks it in distribution and therefore is older, so it is quite obvious that the practice of avulsion as an initiation rite in Australia preceded that of circumcision. In the first place it has a more widespread distribution and this fact suggests by itself a greater antiquity. Such a conclusion is justified because we are dealing with comparable traits which have a common basis in the fact that they are both initiation rites. If such a relationship did not exist it seems needless to say that no chronology could be assumed merely on a geographical basis. Secondly, initiatory avulsion is found coexistant in some localities with circumcision[17] and throughout the remainder of the area of the latter, avulsion is practiced, although not in connection with initiation. However, and this point is important, in those regions where non-initiatory extraction is found, it invariably precedes the operation of circumcision. It is also of value to notice that among those tribes which still initiate by knocking out a tooth, in addition to circumcising, are located around the periphery of non-initiatory avulsion, which corresponds, more or less, to the periphery of circumcision. The conclusion seems to be obvious, for it appears that as circumcision diffused in all directions towards the coasts and continuously gained ground, it gradually forced out the practice of avulsion as an initi-

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cerned with the ceremony in parts where it forms the most important rite." 1899, p. 213. Roth also seems to believe that non-initiatory avulsion, as it was found at the time of his visit, was at some time connected with the initiation ceremonies. See 1897, p. 111.

For a description of this custom as it is found among the centrally located tribes see Spencer and Gillen, 1904, pp. 588-594.

[17] It will be noted by referring to the map that all these are peripheral. The Mulya-napa in northwest New South Wales, Curr, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 159; Oonoomurra in western Queensland, ibid., Vol. II, p. 342; Dieri, South Australia, Howitt, op. cit., p. 655. In the case of the Dieri, the significance is apparently broken down. Avulsion took place earlier than in the east and was performed on girls as well as boys. The rite, however, is still more important than among the more centrally located tribes of the north. In West Australia there are the Roebuck Bay group, Stokes, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 89, 92; and the Muliarra, Curr, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 377, who also practice avulsion in connection with initiation.

ation rite. This process is demonstrated by the fact that we find avulsion still lingering as an initiation ceremony on the margin of non-initiatory extraction in those areas where circumcision has more recently arrived, and where it has not yet had time to force its predecessor, avulsion, completely out of competition.

It is possible to carry the theory of geographical distribution further. We have seen in the central regions where circumcision and subincision are characteristic, that avulsion has lost its initiatory significance. We have assumed, I believe quite correctly that this is the result of the former's influence—that avulsion lost prestige because of the inroads and growing acceptance of circumcision and later subincision. Now, it is quite apparent, if this has been so, that the decline of avulsion could not start until after circumcision, and perhaps subincision, too, had already been accepted, if not in an intense form, then at least rudimentarily. That is, the decline of the importance of avulsion in initiation must be more recent than the acceptance of circumcision and maybe subincision. This conclusion is splendidly supported by distribution, for the map well illustrates that the distribution of non-initiatory avulsion not only has a contiguity, but also falls within that of circumcision and subincision. Having the smallest distribution, on the basis of the geographical theory, we are privileged to draw the conclusion that it is the most recent phenomena, and this, as has been demonstrated, is supported by other considerations. The decline of initiatory avulsion seems to be a movement in itself, which was diffusing in the same manner as any positive trait. Initiatory avulsion was not discontinued haphazardly at any and every place, just because another form of initiation had been introduced, for, it is to be noticed, it declined in a normal and consistent manner. Examples have been given which demonstrate that avulsion, circumcision and subincision are all practiced together as initiation ceremonies. However, there is one region, vast and contiguous at the present time, where avulsion has lost its initiatory significance. At some point in this locality, it would seem, the idea originated that since a new form of initiation had been adopted, the old form could or should be disconnected from the ceremonies. This idea must have spread from a common source, as is demonstrated by its distribution. If the practice of circum-

cision automatically caused a decline of avulsion, we would expect the latter to lose caste in all communities of the former instead of only in a contiguous area where the cause and effects were the same. It seems permissible to suspect that, given time, non-initiatory avulsion would have continued to diffuse in all directions in the wake left by the diffusion of its forerunners, circumcision and subincision. In one specific locality, the coastal regions of northwestern Queensland, non-initiatory avulsion has diffused over and beyond the limits of circumcision and subincision. In this region, therefore, there has been apparently a severing of relationship between avulsion and the initiation complex without the previous addition of circumcision.

Like any other normal trait the practice of tooth avulsion does not appear in the same intensity throughout its distribution. In some regions only one tooth is extracted, in others two teeth are removed, while in one locality four teeth seem to constitute the usual number lost by one individual. Regarding these differences from the point of view of simplicity and complexity, it is logical to suppose that the extraction of one tooth demonstrates the most simple appearance, and so we may suppose that it represents the original form of this practice. Continuing this trend of thought, the avulsion of two teeth would seem to be the next logical progression and that the removal of four teeth should represent the most recent development. Apparently there are no examples reported where three teeth are struck out. A study of the distribution of the practice of avulsion in its three forms, accurately confirms our supposition that the extraction of one tooth is the original type of this trait. As map 2 indicates, the removal of one tooth constitutes the most widely distributed form which, furthermore, is peripheral to the others. On the other hand, the extraction of four teeth is a practice limited to apparently a very small region, perhaps that of only one tribe. The knocking out of two teeth, the intermediary step in development, is also intermediate in distribution, for it completely surrounds the area where four teeth are removed and it is, itself, well enclosed by the peripheral distribution where only one tooth is extracted. As the map shows, there is quite a vast region in western Australia from which there is no information. There should be called to attention the fact that in the extreme southwestern part of the continent, the removal of two

teeth seems to be characteristic. It is probable that this appearance is connected with the rest of the area where two teeth are extracted, however definite contiguity may be only implied at the present time.

MAP 2

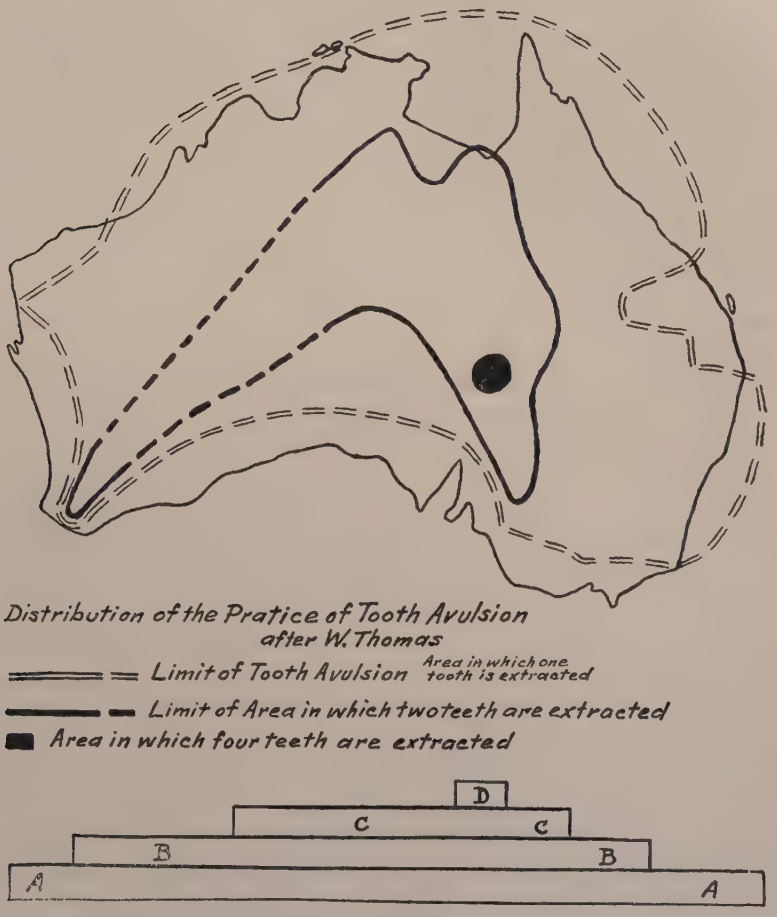


Fig. 6. Cross-section of Distribution for Practice of Tooth Avulsion: A, No avulsion; B, Avulsion of one tooth; C, Avulsion of two teeth; D, Avulsion of four teeth.

The presence of these different forms in the intensity of tooth and teeth extraction is in no way affected by the performance of this prac-

tice as an initiation rite or as a non-initiation custom. Obviously this trait has undergone two entirely unrelated developments—one, as a part of the initiation complex, in which the initiatory factor became dissociated in the central regions; the other, as a purely physical practice, which became intensified by being applied to a greater number of teeth. Possibly the latter developed in the central regions before avulsion was discarded as an initiation rite, although there seems to be no way of determining the validity of this surmise. However, we may feel certain that the practice of extracting two teeth was gradually diffusing outwards and it is logical to believe that it would be adopted by the tribes marginal to its distribution, regardless of whether they still performed avulsion as an initiation ceremony or practiced it as a non-initiation custom.

Summary

Tooth avulsion is an initiatory rite in Australia, which preceded chronologically circumcision and subincision. Its distribution shows it to lie not only beyond the areas in which the latter are practiced, but also as a substratum to both of them as well. Although it has degenerated into a custom with no ceremonial significance throughout a vast part of the area where circumcision and subincision are found in intense form, it still continues to be performed as part of the initiation ceremonies in some regions where the other ceremonies have more recently arrived. The idea of non-initiatory avulsion is a trait which developed in the central regions directly or indirectly as a result of the introduction of circumcision and subincision. Although negative in its influence it diffused in all directions and in the same manner as would be expected of a positive trait. Circumcision did not break down the practice of initiatory avulsion merely because of its presence. Initiatory avulsion had broken down and was continuing to break down only because at one place a movement started to relegate it from a restricted male ceremony to a voluntary male and female custom.

Anomalous Ceremonies

On all sides of Australia, flanking the practice of tooth avulsion, circumcision, and subincision, are located tribes with whom the initiation ceremonies are of a much more simple nature. This condition

is to be expected because of their location in the peripheral regions, disregarding, of course, any local developments which they, themselves, have perfected to complexify their own institutions. Eliminating this possibility, we should expect to find that they have been influenced to some extent by their neighbors to the interior, in spite of the fact that the chief ceremonies of the latter, avulsion, circumcision, and subincision, have not yet penetrated to them. We have noticed, as we have passed from the center of the continent outward, that firstly, subincision ceased to be performed; that secondly, circumcision became unknown, and lastly, that avulsion of teeth terminated as a ceremony and as a practice. The tribes which are left outside of the foregoing distributions, therefore, have a unified aspect in the fact that none of them practice these three important Australian initiation rites. This evidence in itself seems sufficient to clinch the argument of the applicability of the geographical distribution method of determining culture stratification; nevertheless, we should investigate the initiation ceremonies of these marginal peoples in order to substantiate this conclusion by seeking further for information which may demonstrate that culture influences, at least in initiation ceremonies, were diffusing towards the coasts. There are four groups to be considered. These are located in (1) southern Victoria and southeastern South Australia, (2) southeastern Queensland, (3) the coastal region of the Northern Territory, and (4) the coastal area of West Australia.

The initiation ceremonies of the tribes of New South Wales which practice tooth avulsion are known by various names, as Burbung, Bora, and Kuringal. Although differing slightly from one another, according to locality, and within their own limits as well, by far the greater number of traits, rituals, and performances are quite similar, if not in many instances identical. Generally speaking, we may characterize all these ceremonies by the following generalizations, although, it must be remembered, a few of the following traits are absent in some cases, or, at least, that they have not been recorded as specifically belonging to every group. Usually, however, we find these people to have ceremonial circles, joined by a path, an arched sapling enclosure, the carrying of fire sticks by initiates, dressing initiates in male attire, ceremonial painting of initiates, guardians (usually the sister's husband, actually or potentional), instruction in

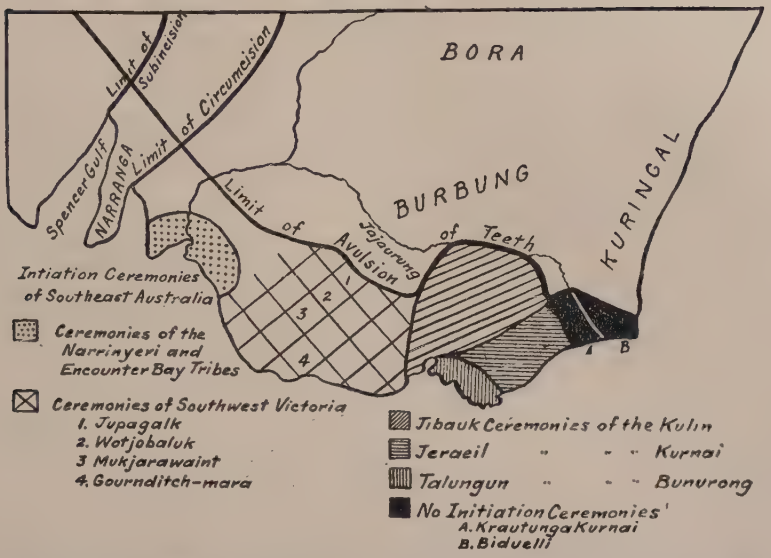
tribal law, "roasting" or warming the boys near a great fire, covering the boys with blankets, exclusion of women and children, inverted speech, burlesque and pantomimic performance, use of a bullroarer, introduction of initiates to figure of Daramulin (a diety), tree and earth carving, required sobriety of novices at performances, period of probation in woods, strict food taboos, which often last for years, and, of course, the avulsion of a tooth or teeth.[18] In addition, among the Marowra (southwestern New South Wales) and the tribes of southeastern South Australia and Victoria, except the extreme eastern and southeastern region, depilation was a common local practice.[19] We may now compare the ceremonies of the anomalous tribes with the above. It must be remembered that the data are quite scanty in most instances.

The Jajaurung formerly dwelled in north central Victoria and were the most southerly tribe to practice tooth avulsion. Aside from this ceremony, which corresponds to that of their northern neighbors, the Wiradjuri in New South Wales, with whom the Burbung was typical, their ceremonies seem to have been much more simple, as we might expect from their location. An initiate was placed in the care of his *Guritch,* or sister's husband, who rubbed him with red ochre, took him hunting, and carried him when he was tired. Depilation, avulsion, a probationary period, and the presentation of an opposum rug are mentioned by Howitt as characteristic of their initiation ceremony.[20] Although Howitt's description is very short and certainly not inclusive, it, nevertheless, demonstrates even in this border tribe where avulsion was practiced, that the strongly institutionalized factors of the New South Wales peoples were much weaker. This condition, as we shall see, is transitional to the more simple appearances among the tribes further to the South. (See map 3.)

In spite of the weakness of the Jajaurung ceremonies, Howitt informs us that they are somewhat fuller than those of the Wurunjerri, their neighbors to the south.[21] The Wurunjerri may be taken as typical of the Kulin tribes of Victoria, who do not practice avulsion. Among these people a boy was placed under the direction

[18] See Howitt, op. cit., p. 509 et seq., and various articles by Matthews, R. H., 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1901.
[19] See map 10 facing p. 364, in Roheim, op. cit.
[20] Op. cit., pp. 613-614.
[21] Ibid., pp. 610-612.

MAP 3



of either his sister's husband or his *kangun* (mother's brother), who took him to the bough enclosure. Evidently there were no ceremonial circles. His hair was cut, he was plastered with mud, and he carried a fire-stick and a live opposum. When his hair had grown two inches his probationary period ended and he was brought to the encampment. An opposum rug was presented to him, he was dressed in male attire and presented to the populace as a man. Several evenings of singing and dancing followed to celebrate the conclusion of the ceremonies. There was no prescribed instruction in tribal law since this had been done previously by his father. Food taboos existed for years as among the tribes to the North, but were gradually removed until only the emu was forbidden him. At about the age of thirty-five this final taboo was abolished.

Contiguous to the Jajaurung on the northwest were the Jupagalk. This tribe initiated its youths by placing them under the care of their respective brothers-in-law (sister's husbands), who took them away for two or three months.[22] An initiate was dressed in male attire, red ochre and grease were rubbed over him, and a ligature of kanga-

[22] Howitt, op. cit., p. 614.

roo sinew was tied around his upper fore-arm. A boy was not allowed to do anything for himself. His brother-in-law was required to see to his wants and to carry him around on his shoulders. The boy was forbidden to eat the male of any animal. Westward from the Jupagalk were formerly the Wotjobaluk and the Mukjarawaint. Howitt tells us that their ceremonies were in all respects the same as those of the Jupagalk except that the latter, in addition, practiced the custom of "roasting."[23]

Southwest of the Kulin tribes and south of the Jajaurung, Wotjobaluk, and Mukjarawaint were the tribes of southwestern Victoria, the initiation ceremonies of which have been superficially described by Dawson.[24] An initiate was given over to the care of his brothers-in-law (probably the sisters' husbands), who dressed him, removed him to their country, and attended to his wants. As in the other groups, they were required to carry him during their travels. The women of the tribe were also required to wait upon him, a custom apparently of only local usage, for to the north one of the prime purposes of initiation was to remove the boy from the women. We may regard this perhaps as a very primitive condition in initiation. The boy's relatives came for him at the end of a year. At this time his hair is plucked out and he is made to drink water mixed with mud. By so doing he completed his initiation into manhood.

Westward from these people were the Narrinyeri and Encounter Bay groups of the South Australian coast. Although these two groups are considered very often as composing a single tribe, the Encounter Bay division, which is to the south of the Narrinyeri proper and therefore peripheral, have initiation ceremonies which, although quite identical, are, nevertheless, a little less intense.[25] The boys of both groups were depilated and their bodies smeared with grease and red ochre. The beards of the Narrinyeri boys were required to grow to a length of two inches when they were plucked out. This happened three times, and satisfied their probationary period. The Encounter Bay people required only two pluckings. There were various taboos concerning their diet.

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[23] Ibid, p. 615.

[24] Dawson, 1881, p. 30.

[25] Howitt, op. cit., pp. 673-675, see also Taplin, G., 1878 and Meyer, 1879.

If we will return now to the Kulin and proceed in the other direction, that is, to the southeast, we will come to the ancient habitate of the Kurnai, a tribe of people who in practically every respect were more primitive and backward than their Kulin neighbors across the mountain range. The Kurnai were coastal peoples and their characteristics offer a case par excellence of peripheral conditions. In respect to these people Howitt remarks,

"The initiation ceremonies of the Kurnai were in principle the same . . . . as the *Bunan, Burbung,* and *Bora.* But in details they differed much from them, either retaining practices which had become obsolete elsewhere, or having developed new details independently. Both, however, may have co-operated in producing the *Jeraeil,* for the Kurnai, in consequence of their country being shut in by dense scrubs and forests in the west, and by the Australian Alps and their spurs in the north and east, were very isolated from the tribes beyond those boundaries."[26]

It seems hardly necessary to repeat in detail the ceremonies of the Kurnai. These have been described in detail by Howitt. Suffice it to say, however, that the women had a very important part to play in the preliminary ceremonies but were rigidly excluded from those in which the bullroarer was used. The Kurnai made use of a bough screen, a fire, ceremonial painting, food taboos and other traits which were characteristic of the ceremonies of New South Wales, but all of their ceremonies and performances which were not of local origin were much less intense than among their neighbors to the north.

The Kurnai, however, are not the last of the series of steps from complexity in initiation ceremonies of the Australian interior to simplicity in the coastal regions. To the southwest of them in the most southern locality of Australia were the Bunurong, an apparently still more primitive group. According to Howitt who, although it seems he did not know them by personal observation, bases his information upon the testimony of several different natives from various tribes, the Bunurong ceremonies which were called *Talangun,* consisted in merely dressing the boy in full male attire and the removing of the food taboos as soon as the old men could catch the animals.[27]

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[26] Op. cit., pp. 616-617.
[27] Howitt, op. cit., pp. 612-613.

Now the Kurnai consisted of five divisions, the eastern most of which were the Krauatunga Kurnai. Unlike the other Kurnai, however, the latter did not take part in the *Jeraeil* ceremonies and in fact they are reported to have had no initiation rites of their own. Being uninitiated, it is important to note that they were completely excluded from the ceremonies of the others. In respect to their lack of initiation they were identical with their eastern neighbors, the Biduelli, who lived in the extreme eastern part of Victoria. The Biduelli, who often were to be found visiting some camp of the Yuin in the coastal region of New South Wales, were likewise excluded from the ceremonies of the latter. They were herded with the women and children, who like themselves, had undergone no initiation ceremony.[28]

The sequence of steps in the development of Australian initiation ceremonies thus comes to its logical conclusion for as we have noticed in coming from the center of the continent, trait after trait drops out along the way, the ceremonies become more and more simple, the observances gradually diminish in intensity until finally even the idea of initiation itself becomes lost.

In southeastern Queensland and northeastern New South Wales we again find a sloping off, so to speak, of the intensity of the initiation ceremonies which are to be found to the west. The Bora ceremony, although similar to the Kuringal and Burbung in the southern part of its area, itself becomes weak in its northern district, that of the northern Kamilaroi, where in addition to the absence of many of the more typical traits, avulsion of teeth is not practiced. It is to be noticed too that the food taboos which, as we have seen, play so important a part in the life of the initiate and last in some instances until a man is thirty-some years of age, among these people are gradually removed from Bora to Bora, so that many years do not pass before a youth is allowed to eat anything without restriction.[29] The Chepara,[30] a more marginal group, require

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[28] Howitt, op. cit., pp. 513, 617.

[29] Howitt, op. cit., pp. 593-595.

[30] Ibid., p. 583; Roheim erroneously gives the Chepara as practicing tooth avulsion, referring to Howitt, op. cit., p. 578. Howitt, specifically says on page 583 " . . . . nor was there a tooth knocked out by the Chepara."

attendance at only three Bora ceremonies in order to remove the various food taboos.

Peripherally contiguous to the peoples who had the Bora type of ceremony were the Maryborough tribes of the Queensland coast who called their initiation ceremony Dora. The Dora ceremonies were very closely related to those of the Bora but, according to description, were simpler and lacked many of the traits of the latter. We know specifically from the collected information that avulsion was not practiced in this region. Apparently this rite was absent for the greater part of eastern Queensland, too, for there is no information to show is presence, although, on the other hand, no reports have positively denied it. It is to be noted also that the food taboo of these people has no connection with the Dora ceremonies. This is an irregular situation for eastern Australia and indicates perhaps a very early condition in the development of initiation theory.

In the Northern Territory, we have seen subincision and circumcision respectively to terminate. Throughout Arnhem Land, however, other features connected with the initiation ceremonies show various approximations with those of the peoples to the south, yet, at the same time, there is a growing similarity to the ceremonies further north in the Coburg Peninsula and Melville and Bathurst Islands, where, in general, the initiation rites are characterized by features of local distribution which possibly may be derived from sources exterior to the continent. It seems sufficient to note that the initiation ceremonies, in the traits which are similar to those in Central Australia, are weaker, less intense and peripheral.[31]

For the western coastal region of Australia, our information is so sparse that very little indeed may be said. We know, as has already been stated, that subincision and circumcision end as practices in the coastal interior, and the same conclusion may also be drawn for the practice of avulsion.[32] Some light perhaps may be thrown upon the whole question of the development of certain initiation rites, however, by a few statements which have been made in pertinence to these west

[31] Spencer, 1914, p. 91, et seq.

[32] Curr, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 303, reports the absence of avulsion among the Kakarakala (Northwest Cape south of Gascoyne river); ibid., p. 306, the Majanna (Shark's Bay); ibid., p. 330, the tribes about Perth; ibid., p. 338, the Whajook tribe of the York district.

coast people. In respect to the Majanna, for instance, Curr tells us that.

". . . The septum of the nose is pierced and the young men are not allowed to marry until this is done."[33]

This strongly suggests that this custom is practiced as an initiation ceremony for throughout the continent all initiation ceremonies have that object among others in view, that is, to qualify a youth for marriage. Now, perforation of the septum is also practiced in part as an initiation rite among the Kurnai and Yuin,[34] who, it will be remembered, inhabit the extreme southeastern coastal regions of the continent. In addition, this custom has been reported for a great many other peripheral groups although statements in detail for them are often lacking and we are left in doubt as to whether any initiatory significance should be implied.[35] Finally throughout a vast part of interior Australia we find that nose perforation is practiced as a custom and here we know definitely that it has no connection with initiation and is, in fact, performed upon girls as well as boys.[36] As in the case of tooth avulsion, the distribution strongly suggests that boring of the nose is an ancient custom and that throughout the central regions of the continent it once was connected with the then prevailing initiation ceremonies. (See map 4.)

Another initiatory rite which has been reported from the northwest coast in the region occupied by the Kariera, Ngaluma and Ngurla, who practice neither subincision, circumcision nor avulsion of teeth,

[33] Curr, op., cit., Vol. p. 306.

[34] The Kurnai practice the actual boring of the septum sometime before initiation but the culmination of this custom takes place as part of the initiation ceremonies at which time the boy receives his nosepeg. See Howitt, op. cit., pp. 626, 740. Among the Yuin the boring is performed upon the return of the boy from his sojourn in the woods. Ibid., p. 741.

[35] Turrbal, Chepara and Gringai of the eastern coast and the Wurunjerri of Victoria. Among the latter girls as well as boys go through this custom. Ibid., p. 741. In the Whajook tribe near York, West Australia, only some of the men have their nose pierced. See Curr, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 338. This custom, however, seems to be a general one among the Ballardong and Ballerdokking of the same region. See ibid., pp. 342-343. Roheim, op. cit., p. 364, refers to Oldfield, 1865, for the Watchandie of the Murchison river district of West Australia. See also Curr, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 291 for the Ngurla of the northwest coast.

[36] This custom seems to be common to most of the tribes in Central Australia from the Kakadu (Spencer, op. cit., p. 330) on the north to at least the Arunta on the south. See Spencer and Gillen, 1899, p. 459; 1904, p. 615. In Central Queensland, Curr reports it for the Yangeeberra and Torraburri, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 73, 79.

MAP 4

is that of placing a ligature around the arm of the initiate.[37] With these people this is a significant ceremony. The use of ligatures, however, is not confined to this area for at the other end of the continent we find that the Mukjarawaint, Wotjobaluk, Jupagalk and many of the Kulin tribes also practice this custom in connection with their initiation ceremonies.[38] Since ligatures are not reported from any other part of the continent it is important to note that among the Kakadu in the far north, arm-bands are placed on a boy during the Jamba rite and are removed at the conclusion of this ceremony.[39] It is only after these armlets have been taken off that he is free to take part in ordinary life. The Jamba is not the last ceremony of these people, however, but is followed by others. Now arm-bands are a common form of ornament among many Australian tribes, being

[37] Brown, op. cit., pps., 232, 235; Curr, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 291.
[38] Howitt, op. cit., pp. 614-615; Matthews, R. H., 1908 (referred to by Roheim, op. cit., p. 364).
[39] Spencer, op. cit., pp. 123-133.

worn by both sexes throughout the central regions of the continent.[40] We are again confronted with the same situation therefore of finding a trait which is connected with initiation ceremonies in certain peripheral localities and which exists as a general non-initiatory custom used by both sexes in the more centralized regions. On the basis of this evidence it seems permissible to again suspect that such a distribution may indicate that ligatures were at one time intimately connected with initiation ceremonies in the heart of Australia.

Scarification or cicatrization is another form of mutilation which has a widespread distribution throughout the continent appearing as an initiation rite among various peripheral groups but also being practiced without this significance in the more centrally located regions.[41] The distribution of this trait thus is consistent with that of many others and so in this case it seems allowable to treat it in a similar manner and to conclude that even scarification may have at one time been closely affiliated with the initiation ceremonies.

Still an additional trait which may have been an important initiation rite at a very early period in Australian history is that of finger-joint mutilation. This practice, which, at the present time, has lost most of its initiatory significance, is still to be found in various coastal regions of West Australia, the Northern Territory, Queensland and New South Wales, but seems to be lacking entirely in the interior regions except for a few localities in Queensland.[42] Its distribution on three sides of the continent suggests that a wider occupation formerly existed.

We may now recapitulate the conclusions which have been suggested in respect to the chronological development of initiation cere-

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[40] Spencer and Gillen, 1904, p. 687.

[41] Scarification as an initiation rite has been reported from South Australia for the Urabunna, Dieri, Wonkgonongaru (Spencer, op. cit., p. 43; Howitt, p. cit., p. 658; Spencer and Gillen, 1904, p. 335), Parnkalla, ibid., p. 670 and the Larrakia of North Australia, Spencer op. cit., p. 154. See also Stirling, op. cit., p. 30, and Schurmann, 1879. These two groups are separated by the central tribes among whom cicatrization is a common non-initiatory practice. Spencer and Gillen, op. cit., pp. 45, 54–56. Non-initiatory scarification is also reported for the Ngaluma, Brown, op. cit., p. 174; by Curr, op. cit., Vol. L, p. 291 for the Ngurla; ibid, p. 303, the Kakarakala; ibid, p. 338, the Whajook; and Roheim, op. cit., p. 364, refers to Oldfield, op. cit., p. 252, for the Watchandie. All of those just mentioned are located in West Australia.

[42] See Roheim, op. cit., p. 364.

SUMMARY

monies in Australia. As we have seen, all the initiatory rites which we have considered, have been found to be distributed in a system of concentric areas in such a manner that the central regions of the continent have constituted, in most cases, the area of the smallest and innermost circle. As a result we have assumed that they represented the most advanced features in each individual case. This conclusion has been substantiated, when sufficient evidence was available, for we have seen that diffusion was taking place in every instance in an outward direction. Every trait appeared to be in its most simple state around the periphery of its distribution while within its location we saw it to be the most advanced, or the most degenerate, terms which are synonymous in our application. In addition it was noticed that, generally speaking, the termination of the area of one trait marked the commencement of the area of another, and that the resulting sequence was noticeable on all sides of the continent. Furthermore, we have seen that this geographical sequence was the same as the temporal sequence which took place in the actual performance of the different practices within the individual tribes when they possessed two or more of the traits concerned. In other words, to cite the actual ceremonies themselves, we noticed that subincision, which occupied the most restricted distribution, was circumscribed by the area of circumcision, which also occurred in the region of the former. Secondly, it was seen that the practice of tooth avulsion circumscribed the area of circumcision and in turn it too was found as a substratum within the area of not only the latter but that of subincision as well. Lastly, we noticed that there were a number of traits which served as initiation ceremonies in various peripheral localities. In most cases, these outflanked the presence of tooth avulsion, and, too, it will be recalled, were also found to exist, in part, within the various regions where the more restricted initiation rites were practiced to the exclusion of the former except as they occurred as generalized customs.

Now, obviously there is a relationship between subincision and circumcision. As we have seen, subincision is apparently an outgrowth of the former and both, judging from their distribution as well as the evidence of their more simple conditions on their respective

peripheries, seem to be of indigenous origin in Australia. There are no grounds, however, at least to my mind, for the assumption that there is any inherent relationship between them and avulsion of teeth, ligatures, nose perforation, scarification and finger-joint mutilation, all of which do occur as initiation ceremonies. In many tribes two or more of the foregoing have been shown to be practiced conjunctively, either as initiation ceremonies or as degenerated customs, but it seems quite obvious that this relationship is purely historical and resultant from forces which are totally removed from any supposed inherent relationship. The distributions of these different traits do not coincide, although, of course this fact is not a reason in itself for the presumption that no *a priori* relationship exists. Nevertheless, independent distributions serve to emphasize the probability that each has had its own individual history and development. It appears that each has been invented separately, either originally as an initiation rite, or as one which was quickly added to other ceremonies to become a part of an initiation complex. Finally, in turn, various traits became dissociated from initiation and assumed again their own independent historical developments, continuing to exist as general customs in certain localities.

On the basis of the information which we have considered, I can see no basis for agreeing with Loeb, who claims that there exists

"a causal and rational relationship between cannibalism, human sacrifice, finger sacrifice, circumcision, as well as certain mourning ceremonials. . . ." [43]

The distribution of circumcision in Australia shows this rite to be comparatively recent, when compared with that of finger-joint mutilation which apparently is of very ancient lineage. The distribution of the latter not only permits the possibility that it has been diffused into Australia, but, more than that, it actually suggests that the York peninsula was the means of this introduction. As we have seen, the distribution of circumcision indicated quite a different story. Furthermore, the differences in the ages of the two traits as shown by their distribution, would seem to not allow for any possible historical linking of the two together as elements of one invading complex.

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[43] Loeb, op. cit., p. 5.

CHAPTER V

Political and Social Organization

The Local Group System

The one feature of Australian Ethnology which has received by far the most profound attention is that of social organization. In distinct contrast to the economic life and institutions of the Australians, which are marked by such backwardness and simplicity, their social make-up is characterized by a most amazing system of complex groupings and relationships. On the other hand, the political organization of this people, being less complexly developed, falls more in line with their general culture. Politically the Australians may be grouped into what we may call tribes, for lack of a better term, but such classification should not be taken as indicative of even an approximation of what is usually understood by this term as it applies to the native groupings on the other continents. The tribe in Australia is a very loose organization which seems to demonstrate some semblance of social, linguistic and geographical unity but which lacks entirely any political cohesion. The Australian tribe has no form of government and, therefore, it has no control over the various constituent groups which compose it. As far as the tribe itself is concerned, there is not even a symbol of unity in a political sense, such as might be expressed in a leader with nominal power or in a loosely organized council. Such evidences of political control are to be found in the so-called local groups, the geographical and political elements which in the aggregate form the tribe. A tribe seldom, if ever, acts as a unit either when minor fights (never wars, in the usual meaning of the word) are in progress, or when the great assemblies for the promotion of ceremonies and social customs are held. A tribe is no more than a great number of local groups among which there is a mutual recognition or affinity in all branches of culture and language. Very often a whole tribe or the greater part of it may meet for the performance of various ceremonies, but such meetings seem to be only incidental to tribal integrity, for seemingly just as often these may be attended by some only of the local groups from one tribe or from

different tribes. At such a gathering, members of the local groups present are never regarded as the representatives of the tribe to which they respectively belong, for the question of their presence or absence at any function is decided by each local group, itself, each acting independently and without regard for the decision of any other. When differences arise between two local groups or between their members, the matter is regarded as purely a local one to be settled by the local groups concerned, and the resulting fight, generally no more than a ceremonial one which ends upon the first drawing of blood or a death, is never looked upon as a tribal affair. There are no political alliances of any kind between one local group and another, for defense and offense are absolutely unknown in aboriginal Australia. Difficulties between the local groups are settled by a regulated battle at a place designated for the occasion. Warfare by concerted effort, by the invasion of territory, by general ambush or by feudal strife seem to have been entirely absent, as far as can be determined, throughout native Australian history. Territorial rights among these people seem to be held in more reverence than do property rights in European culture, for throughout Australia, land is not only conceived of as belonging to man, but in addition, man is considered as having an inalienable connection with the land of his birth, and this is, in its greater aspect, the land of the local group. The local group, then, is the largest landowning unit in Australian political organization and this is a feature which is universal upon the island continent as the writer has pointed out in another connection.[1] The boundaries of the local group are well known to its members and they are very pugnacious in upholding their territorial rights against any outsiders who, without permission, might cross them in search of game. Trespassing, considered a serious offense, was the cause of a great proportion of the inter-local group fights.

The land of the local group is inherited in the male line. This feature, coupled with the custom of patrilocal marriages serves to point out that the local group is not only a geographical and political unit but that it is one based upon actual blood relationship as well. The close relationship between the males of a local group is further emphasized by the relatively small population which inhabits each

[1] Davidson, 1926.

district. Although Thomas informs us that some local groups of the Narrinyeri were populated by as many as two hundred individuals,[2] this seems to be very exceptional for the average population of a local group in aboriginal days was probably not more than fifty individuals, and even as few as two or three three-generation families.

The political organization of a local group is characterized by simplicity. Leadership is vested in the hands of a headman and there seems to have been a tendency for this position to have descended by heredity, from father to son. The authority of a headman is more nominal than real, for except for a few conflicts with other local groups there were no measures of a political nature either to be enforced or even considered. The old men usually compose a council of elders and when their advice is needed, they are available for consultation.

Throughout the greater part of Australia, however, the local group is not the primary geographical unit, for except for that region which extends from Central Australia to the northwest coast, the local groups, in practically every instance where our information is at all detailed, are characterized by a further partitionment of land into family or individual holdings. These family hunting territories are also in certain respects political units, for they, too, have definite boundaries with the same prohibition against trespassing as is to be noticed for the local groups themselves, and furthermore, the family or individual male owner, the family head, has full power of control over his own inherited district.

Family Hunting Territories

As I have indicated above, the family hunting territory system is of very common occurrence in Australia. This topic has been considered by the writer in a recent paper in which the characteristic features were pointed out.[3] Briefly stated, these are the following. Throughout Australia the territory of the local group is generally partitioned out among the various individual member families, and the resulting plots are considered as belonging to the individual males. Some reports indicate the individual male as owner, others mention the family as the possessor. Obviously the meanings are synonymous

[2] Thomas, N. W., 1906, p. 32.
[3] Davidson, 1928.

since these districts are patrilocal, and the oldest male is the head of each individual family. Each family hunting territory is enclosed by well defined boundaries, although these do not seem to be artificially marked. Natural features of the terrain, such as waterways, ridges of land, clumps of trees, rocks and so on, serve this purpose suitably well. Trespassing is strictly forbidden and is punishable by death, misfortune brought on by conjure, or very often in the case of a non-local group member, by a ceremonial fight. The family districts are inherited from father to son and ownership is realized to such an extent that a proprietor may dispose of his lands as he chooses.

Now this institution, as far as can be gleaned from source material, seems to have been consistently present throughout Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland. It is also known to be a feature of certain tribes in southern South Australia, northern North Australia and in various regions of southern West Australia. Although our available information does not confirm the presence for every specific tribe throughout this vast region as indicated, the affirmatory reports do come from such widely separated localities and are consistently so similar that, in view of no data denying the existence of this system, it seems safe to believe that were our information complete, the family hunting territory would be everywhere reported present in the intervening areas. In other words, the information which we have may be considered as a fair sampling of the total distribution of this institution, for most of the continental area, except for Central Australia and the region contiguous to it to the west as far as and including the habitat of the Kariara on the extreme northwest coast. For the entire latter region, which, it is to be noticed, is flanked on every side except the northwest, where the ocean is met, by the presence of the family hunting territory, our data quite accurately indicate a somewhat different condition. Spencer and Gillen in respect to the enormous area occupied by the "Northern Tribes of Central Australia" say:

"There is no such thing as one man being regarded as the owner of any tract of country. In every case the unit of division is the local totemic group." [4]

In their "Native Tribes of Central Australia," Spencer and Gillen indicate that in at least a part of the area included, family ownership was recognized, for they say,

"Turning again to the group, we find that the members, perhaps in small

[4] Spencer and Gillen, 1899, p. 27.

parties of one or two families, often, for example, two or more brothers with their wives and children, *own the land which they own,* camping at favorite spots where the presence of waterholes, with their accompaniment of vegetables and animal food, enables them to supply their wants."[5]

For the Kariara of the northwest coast Brown reports,

"Although the individual families did not possess their own tract of land, they quite often traveled together, apart from the rest of the group."[6]

Although the region separating Central Australia from the Northwest Coast is indeed great, information for it is totally lacking; nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that the intermediate tribes, if known, would be characterized by the same or similar conditions as the Kariara or Central Tribes, or would be intermediate in their differences.

Now, on the basis of the geographical distribution theory, it would seem permissible to suspect that the family hunting territory system, being marginal on all sides to a condition in which family holdings have been denied, represents the older organization which has given way in the more central area to considerable modification. (See map 5.) Apparently the family districts have degenerated in the heart of the continent because of some influence or influences which have resulted from the progress in development of a related, or perhaps even unrelated, institution. However, it is first necessary to inquire for those indications which may demonstrate the previous existence of the family hunting territory in this central area. The family hunting territory in Australia, as has been pointed out, is closely related to the principle of local group territory and since the local group, in many cases, is hardly more than a large family organization, the partitionment of lands to the individual owner (or family) may represent but the continuation of the idea which originally caused the concept of land ownership in the local groups at a time when the latter were hardly more than small families themselves. There is a possibility therefore that in some regions the original local groups never were broken up into the smaller family territories. Such a lag in development in certainly conceivable; nevertheless, this explanation seems to be hardly applicable to our case for, as the map

[5] Op. cit., p. 16. The italics are mine.
[6] Brown, A. R., 1913, pp. 145-127.

indicates, this abnormality is strictly confined to a central location which is flanked by normal appearances on all sides. It is to be noticed, too, that the degeneration throughout the central area is not consistently uniform and in this respect it is noteworthy that the most intense degeneration is confined to the more central region and that the Kariara, in a more marginal location, represent but a midway progressiveness toward the conditions of the center. Brown's statement indicates, too, that although the Kariara families did not possess their own tract of land, they nevertheless traveled by themselves, separated from the other families of the local group. Apparently this indicates that the family hunting territory system had but recently

MAP 5

Fig. 7. Cross-section of Distribution for Family Hunting Territories (from left to right, North Australia, Central Australia, South Australia or Southwest Australia, Central Australia, Queensland): 1, Presence of family hunting territories; 2, Absence of family hunting territories.

broken down. Brown has also given us a statement in which there is some ambiguity, for he speaks of Kariara natives who desired

"to die and be buried on their own inherited hunting ground."

Perhaps this sense of inheritance is meant to apply to the local group territory. However, a man seldom leaves this area except temporarily, for Brown, himself, says that

"It is impossible for a man to leave his local group and become naturalized in another. Just as the country belonged to him, so he belonged to it."

There is some doubt, therefore, as to the exact meaning of the above sentence, for if each quoted native had reference to the local group territory as his inherited land, his burial on any part of it would be on his own land, and there would have been no cause for him to express his burial preference unless he was living somewhere outside of his local group, and Brown tells us that this would be generally impossible. On the other hand, since a native never leaves his local group to live permanently elsewhere, a statement which refers to his own inherited land may indicate that family lands were recognized among these people, but that mutual hunting privileges were exchanged between all the members of the local group. Such a condition has been reported for other regions in Australia and this point may have escaped the attention of Brown.

It is unfortunate indeed, that in Australia we have very few accounts of any one tribe taken at different time intervals. If the Kariara had been studied accurately a century ago, the family hunting territory system might have been found to have been intact. A similar condition may have been true for the central tribes, although for them we should probably allow a greater expanse of time for a change to their present system. Although the older writers were not acquainted with the central area which we have been discussing, it is important to note that they found the family hunting territory system in a flourishing condition in all the regions which they traversed nearly a century ago. Such explorers as Grey (1841)[7] and Eyre (1845)[8] consistently report individual land ownership among the peoples who came under their attention, which Morgan (1852)[9] presents convincing information along this line for Victoria. Although it may

[7] Grey, 1841; See Earl, 1846, p. 239 and Angus, 1849, Vol. 1, p. 88.
[8] Eyre, 1845, Vol. 2, pp. 218, 297.
[9] Morgan, J., 1852.

be said that information derived from the regions visited by the above men should in no way be used to interpret conditions in other areas, it should be pointed out that the very antiquity of the information should lend some support to the theory that family lands existed in the central areas which geographically are not far removed from them. On this basis it seems logical to suspect that, had their investigations taken them to Central Australia or to the northwest coast, they would have found a nearer approach to the normal family hunting territory system, or at least not quite so much of a degeneration, as that noticed by Spencer and Gillen in the late '90's, and by Brown in 1913.

The reason for the decadent condition of the concept of family and individual ownership in land, however, seems to be due, especially in Central Australia, to the profound development and intensification of another institution, the local totemic group. Under this new philosophy which changed greatly the internal social composition of the local group structure, the independence of the individual families, as the result of a radical development in totemic organization, appears to have been entirely superseded and exterminated by a stronger local group consciousness. This point, however, will be discussed further on.

Social Organization

In sharp contrast to the meager expression in political organization, there is to be noticed in Australia a most highly intensified social structure. As Lowie has pointed out, every Australian is born into a series of relationships in all of which he remains throughout life.[10] In a similar manner to a person being born of a definite sex, so an Australian by birth becomes a member to a social, geographical and (with certain exceptions) political as well as blood family unit, to a larger social, geographical and political as well as paternally related local group, and (with certain further exceptions to be noticed) into such classifications as are determined by moieties, classes and totemic sibs. Every one of these groupings is characterized by apparent, but as will be brought out, derivative exogamy and it is in this respect that the social and political features of the family and local group tend to fuse. A woman, for instance, not only marries out of her social family

[10] 1920, p. 270.

and social local group organization, but the very fact of her marriage under patrilocal rule takes her away from her political family and political local group as well. There is some overlapping, therefore, between the social and political family and between the social and political local group.

In respect to the organization of those groupings such as moieties, classes and totemic sibs, which by their very nature are purely social, it is a well known fact that practically every Australian tribe is characterized by the possession of all three. These exist in varying degrees of intensity, differing greatly throughout the continent. There are certain exceptions to be noted, however, and for our purpose, these are as important as the actual appearances of the positive traits themselves. Around the periphery of the continent are to be found some tribes such as the Kurnai, Chepara and Turrbal, among whom neither moieties, classes nor totemic sibs, as noticed throughout the rest of the continent, seem to be present. Among some other peripheral coastal peoples such as the Yuin, Narrinyeri, Narranga, Yerkla-mining, the coastal tribes of Arnhem Land, the natives of Melville and Bathurst Islands and perhaps, too, the groups of southwestern Victoria, moieties and classes are absent while totemic sibs are present. Throughout a great area of South Australia, southern New South Wales and most of Victoria, moieties and totemic sibs are characteristic features of the tribes, although no classes are to be noticed. In the rest of Australia, there exists the more normal condition in which all three of these social institutions are found coexistent with the local group organization. In addition, the usual family grouping into small political units, each inhabiting its own inherited territory, is typical of the entire continent, except as already noted and discussed, in that region between Central Australia and the northwest coast, regardless of the presence or absence of the various other social factors.

The characteristic organization of the continent, however, in which moieties, classes and totemic sibs are all to be found together in each tribe, includes the remainder of Australia, that vast region which has not been already mentioned for the exceptions to the rule. For the tribes which come under this classification, the moieties and the totemic sibs are usually not mentioned in a classification, but instead, the tribes are designated entirely on the basis of their class organization.

On this basis, however, a classification is simple for, considered from the point of view of classes alone, there are but two fundamental types of organization. The first consists of a grouping into four classes, which are divided equally between the moieties, the second

MAP 6

Tribes with an eight class organization
" " a four " "
" " " Moiety organization
" without a Class or Moiety organization
1. Southern Aruntа
2. Warrai
3. Mara and Anula
4. Mardudhunera

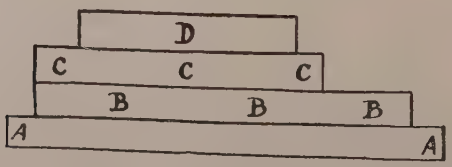

Fig. 3. Cross-section of Distribution for Types of Social Organization (from left to right, North Australia, Central Australia, South and Southeastern Australia): A, No moieties or classes; B, Moiety organization; C, Four class organization; D, Eight class organization.

comprises an eight-fold division of classes, or sub-classes as they are often called, one group of four comprising one moiety of the tribe, and the remaining four the other.

The relative geographical location of these social groupings presents an important and an instructive distribution, which, as demonstrated by the accompanying map (No. 6) at once calls forth an explanation based upon the geographical distribution theory. It will be noticed immediately that the eight class tribes occupy a solid block of territory in the center of the continent, and that the four class tribes completely surround them. South of the four class tribes is the habitat of those tribes among whom the dichotomous or moiety grouping is typical, while still southward from the latter are to be noticed tribes which lack entirely the social complexities of the others.

If we may apply the geographical distribution theory to the question of the historical development of this whole social structure, with a view of determining the chronological relationship between family groups, local groups, moieties, classes and totemic sibs, we should be immediately impressed by the geographical arrangement of the eight sub-class and four class systems. Since the eight class grouping is completely surrounded by the four, we may assume that it is an outgrowth of the latter. Regarding the question from a continental point of view, we notice further that to the south and southeast the four class system is contiguous to a dual grouping and that the latter system connects at various coastal districts with tribes where the dual and class systems are absent. From the center of the continent to the southern coast in one direction and to the southeastern direction in another we find a regular sequence running 8, 4, 2, 0. To the east and north the dual organization is lacking so that in these directions the sequence runs 8, 4, 0. It seems permissible to suspect, in view of the appearance of this seemingly intermediate condition of dichotomous grouping in the southern progression, that this type should also appear in the north and east. However, since we know it to be lacking peripherally in these directions, it seems obvious that there must be factors of geographical or cultural significance which will explain why this trait has disappeared from its logical position in linear sequence. Considering this problem from a continental point of view, on the basis of geographical distribution, we have good grounds for the assumption that the eight sub-class system represents

a development out of the four class organization, that the four classes have resulted from the foundation of the dual grouping and that the latter is an institution which has been superimposed upon a more simple type of social organization, such as we still find represented in the social structure of several tribes whose locations are on the continental margin. The latter are still unfettered by the social complexities of the dual, four class and eight sub-class systems.

It will have been noticed that no consideration has been given to the possible chronological relationship of the totemic sib in the above arrangement. Although this institution does not seem to fit into the orderly sequence which we have erected, there is evidence, nevertheless, to show that light may also be thrown upon its correlation with the above scheme. This is a subject in itself, however, and will be treated separately. First, however, we should turn our attention to the class and moiety system. Let us begin with the eight sub-class type and consider its relationship to the four class order. If it is possible to substantiate its parentage in the four, we may then discuss the relationship of the latter with the dual system and finally turn to the last step of our progression, those tribes without moiety or class organization, in order to ascertain if their type of social structure is fundamental to the entire continent.

The Eight Class System

The eight class system of Central Australia represents one of the most peculiar developments in social organization which has been brought to the attention of ethnologists. It is a distinct contribution to the varieties of human social structures for which the Australians alone are responsible. Regardless of the manner by which it may have come into existence, we must credit its originators with having produced a most uinque and original pattern.

If we will consider for a moment this eight class system from a subjective point of view and with a complete ignorance of its relationship with the other Australian social manifestations, it should be quite apparent that since this system occupies a contiguous geographical distribution, it must have resulted from one common source. Even though it were distributed in non-contiguous locations, it would seem that a common origin could be assigned solely on the basis of its com-

plexity and peculiarity. However, since we do find it occupying one large area, on the basis of the geographical distribution theory, we may surmise that the point of origin lies somewhere in the center and that there has been a subsequent diffusion into what are now the marginal areas. In order to test out our convictions, it is permissible to inquire into the system of the surrounding tribes for the purpose of determining if any radiating influences, which might show that an outward diffusion is still taking place, are discernible.

The southernmost tribe organized into the eight sub-class system is the Arunta. These people have received considerable attention due to their accessible location, but also because of some peculiar developments in totemic social organization. These do not concern us for the moment. The Arunta, however, are of prime importance to us because of their transitional position in the scheme of class development. It is a well known fact that only the northern half of the Arunta are organized into the eight sub-classes, while the southern part of the tribe have only the four classes. In respect to the latter, Spencer and Gillen say:

"In the southern part of the tribe (Arunta) there are only four subclasses —Panunga, Bulthara, Panula, and Kumara, the first two forming one moiety of the tribe, the second two the other." . . . . "The descent so far as the moiety is concerned is strictly paternal, and, in regard to the southern Arunta, where there are only the four classes above mentioned, a Panunga man marries a Purula woman, and the children pass into the Bulthara subclass. In the same way a Purula man marries a Panunga woman, and the children are Kumara." . . . . "Further inquiry, however, reveals the fact that a Panunga man is not allowed to marry any and every Purula woman. The latter are divided into two groups, the members of one of whom he may marry, whereas the other groups are strictly forbidden to him."[11]

"This fact is one of very considerable importance. Each of the four subclasses is thus divided into two, the members of which stand respectively in the relationship of Ipmunna to each other."[12]

"This division into eight has been adopted (or rather the names of the four new divisions have been), in recent times by the Arunta tribe from the Ilpirra tribe which adjoins the former on the north, and the use of them is, at the present time, spreading southwards. At the Engwura ceremony which we witnessed, men of the Ilpirra tribe were present, as

[11] 1904, p. 96.
[12] Ibid, p. 71.

well as a large number of others from the southern part of the Arunta amongst whom the four new names are not yet in use."[13]

A similar condition has been noticed by Spencer in the far northern part of the continent. Outflanking the tribes with the eight sub-class system are to be found the Warrai tribe which inhabits the area between Rum Jungle and Brock's Creek. They are often called Wolwonga by the Europeans. This tribe is divided into moieties and each of these is further divided into two classes, making four in all. The descent follows the male line and is indirect, that is, the child belongs to the same moiety as the father but in the complementary class. Spencer says of them:

"Except that there are distinct names for women, which are slight variants of those for men, the organization is closely similar to that of the southern Arunta, where there are only four class names. It must, however, be remembered that though there are only four such names, yet, each of them is divided into two groups so that, for example, one group of Adjumbitj men intermarry with only one group of Allpungerti women, the other group of the latter women are forbidden to these men. In most tribes distinct names are given to the two groups so that there are eight in all."[14]

There is another transitional group of tribes, with a four class organization whose location is peripheral to that of those with the eight class system. These are situated along the Gulf of Carpentaria and are represented by the Mara and the Anula. The important difference to be noted between them on the one hand and the Warrai and Southern Arunta on the other is that they reckon descent in a direct line, the children taking the same class of the father instead of the complementary class in the same moiety. The Mara and Anula are contiguous in location to the Binbinga among whom the eight classes are to be found. In respect to this relationship Spencer and Gillen remark:

"When comparing, with the assistance of men belonging to each tribe, the four names in both the Mara and Anula tribes with the eight in the Binbinga, we found out that, though there were only the four names for the subclasses, yet these really comprised groups of individuals who were regarded as the equivalent of the eight subclasses in the Binbinga, and in order to indicate this we have repeated each name twice in the tables,

[13] Ibid, p. 72.
[14] Spencer, 1914, pp. 53, 54.

because each of the divisions is the equivalent of two in the Binbinga and southern tribes."[15]

In respect to the tribes to the west of the eight class system area, we are informed by Spencer that there are a great many which have the four class names but among whom, like the southern Arunta and the Warrai, are to be noticed eight intermarrying groups, four of which do not as yet have names.[16] Tribes showing this transitional form of organization between the four and eight class systems probably extend entirely across the northwestern part of Australia, for Brown found that the system of the Mardudhunera, a coastal tribe on the extreme west, to be similar in social structure to the Warramunga although only four class names were present.[17] It is to be regretted that we do not have more information for this general region for the gaps which we are forced to jump in assuming that the tribes geographically intervening are also culturally intermediate or similar, are too great to permit the drawing of very certain conclusions. However, the four examples which we have considered, one each from the south, northeast, northwest and west, should constitute sufficient proof that the eight class system originated somewhere within its present boundaries and that it has diffused in all directions, superimposing itself upon the organization of the surrounding tribes.

Although the significance of the marginal distribution of these tribes with an intermediate type of organization seems to have been missed entirely by Spencer and Gillen, the identity in the systems of the southern Arunta and the Warrai appealed to them as a puzzle for which they offered no solution. Spencer distinctly says:

"It is somewhat remarkable to find two tribes, each with the four, named, intermarrying groups, one at each end of the long stretch of country, a thousand miles in all, that lies between the southernmost Arunta and the Warrai in the north. In all these the organization in fundamentally identical, but it is only at the extreme northern and southern limits that we find only four class names, elsewhere there are always eight."[18]

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[15] 1904, p. 116.

[16] Ibid, p. 13.

[17] Brown, op. cit., p. 185. Brown concludes that the Mardudhunera system of relationship, if used consistently throughout, would be very similar to that of the Warramunga and other central tribes and would result in the formation of eight sub-classes instead of the four now present. See also p. 188.

[18] Spencer, op. cit., p. 54.

Let us now consider the eight class system in its relationship to that organized into four classes. As we have seen, there is considerable evidence to indicate that the eight class organization was spreading in four directions at least, and that it was being superimposed upon the four class system. The parent of the eight class system is so obvious the four that any comment on this point seems hardly necessary; nevertheless, it might be well to indicate what evidences there are for such a conclusion. In the first place, it is absolutely inconceivable that a people could so divide their members into such a complex system as that of the eight classes without having been previously organized into a more simple system. The arrangement of the eight class tribes into four groups is furthermore easily discernible, for each sub-class has a complementary sub-class, so that there are four groups in all. In other words, if we would combine the complementary sub-classes and disregard the existence of the eight individual names, we would have the typical pattern of the four class tribes. In addition, the eight class organization is arranged into a dichotomous grouping in the same manner as the four class tribes, and finally, the functions of the sub-classes (in the eight class organization) are identical with the functions of the classes (in the four class tribes). The relationship between the two types, however, is distinctly shown by their relative distributions and it would seem that, even though we knew nothing of the functions of the sub-classes and classes, respectively, we would be able to conclude on the basis of the geographical theory, that the former, in the centralized location, is an outgrowth of the latter, which occupies the peripheral position.

The fact that the eight sub-class system was spreading toward the marginal areas permits us to believe that such a diffusion has been going on for some time, and that if we could go back far enough we would find the distribution of the eight class system to be smaller and smaller, and that finally it would lose itself altogether, fusing into an oblivion of four class organization from which it developed. The marginal condition among the southern Arunta, Dieri,[19] Warrai, Mara, Anula, and the western tribes, shows that

[19] Although the Dieri are organized into a moiety system without even the four class names, it seems that they were already feeling the influence of the more complex systems north of them. Spencer says of them, "There are no names for the classes, but groups, forming intermarrying groups

they were all being prepared subconsciously for the eight class system by a diffusion of the influence of the latter which preceded the diffusion of the idea of names for the four new sub-classes.

To my mind, it seems quite apparent that the eight sub-class system is a development of the four class organization by a bifurcation of each class into two parts, and if this is true, it goes without saying that the eight sub-class system has diffused and can diffuse only into those regions in which the four class organization is present.

The Four Class System

The four class system, which surrounds entirely and underlies the eight sub-class organization, has by far the greatest distribution of any of the Australian social systems. It occupies a contiguous area which indicates, first of all, that it is of unitary origin and that it has spread to its present distribution from some central point of origin. Just where this point may have been does not particularly concern us here, but probably was at some place within the continent and incidentally within its present distribution, for this system appears to be indigenous to Australia. If it were possible to lift off for the moment the eight class system, the contiguity of the four class organization would be more apparent, for it would then occupy a solid area. Like the eight class system, the four class organization appears to be Australian and for its existence the Australians must be given the fullest credit, regardless of what factors may have produced it.

Although the four class system is found in New South Wales, Queensland, North Australia, South Australia, and West Australia, it is indeed remarkable to note that, generally speaking, a description for any one tribe would be applicable to any other, ignoring, of course, the differences in reckoning descent on the maternal or paternal side. In all instances except those of the Mara and Anula, which have been mentioned before, and some tribes of Southwest Australia,[20] which are characterized by direct descent whereby the children fall into the same identical class and moiety as the parent through whom descent is reckoned, all the four class tribes reckon

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equivalent to classes and subclasses in the other tribes are undoubtedly present." Spencer, pp. 12, 13.

[20] See Frazer, op. cit., pp. 560-562. This information is derived from Mrs. Bates, op. cit.

descent by the child taking the complementary class in the same moiety as the father when patrilineal descent prevails and the complementary class in the same moiety as the mother when matrilineal descent is followed. In this respect they are identical with the eight class organization except that for the latter there is a further bifurcation of each individual class. As we have noticed, some of the otherwise typical four class tribes, which are marginal to the eight class system, were being influenced by the latter, and they represent, therefore, transitional steps in the evolution of the four into the eight class system.

The Moiety System

Now to consider the relationship of the class system (four class and eight sub-class) to the moiety or dichotomous type of organization, it is first necessary to point out that there is one basic difference in the method of reckoning descent. The descent in the four and eight class tribes, with the exceptions noted, is always indirect, but within the same moiety, while under the moiety system, as is shown among those peoples where the latter type of organization exists alone, descent is, of course, direct, for if the child went into the other division he would be passing out of the moiety completely. Why there is a difference between the class and the moiety method of descent cannot be definitely stated. However, it must be pointed out that although descent came to be indirect in respect to classes, this in no way affected descent within the moiety, for this feature has been retained among both the four and eight class tribes, among whom, as far as the moiety itself is concerned, descent is still direct. It is also important to note that some tribes at least still retain the moiety method of direct descent in spite of the fact that they have adopted the four class organization. These are the Mara and Anula and Southwestern tribes, as already mentioned. Regardless of why the classes originated, it seems to be true that the idea of indirect descent originated at the same time and that it has spread as a pattern along with the diffusion of the class system itself. For some reason or other, the Mara and Anula and others did not take over this radical idea of descent, but, perhaps because of a local conservatism, insisted upon retaining direct descent, although they submitted on the question of a bifurcation of the

moieties themselves. Regardless of the functions of the moieties and of the classes, it stands to reason that the classes have resulted from a bifurcation of the moieties, although this does not mean that the classes were intended to serve the same functions as the moieties. On the contrary, we may suspect that they were intended to assume some functions which the moieties for some reason or other did not sufficiently take care of. It does not necessarily follow that because the classes had their origin in the moieties that they must, as a result, assume the same characteristics. The parentage of the classes in the moieties is clearly demonstrated in my estimation by the equal division of the classes between the latter. It seems to be quite obvious that the classes could not originate without the existence of the moieties as a background. Since the classes are arranged two to each moiety, it follows that there can be no class arrangement until after there has been a dichotomous grouping. It seems logical to believe, therefore, that the four class system had to follow the moiety system and that it could not diffuse to a people until after the latter had been organized into a dual grouping.[21] Such an assumption is strongly supported by the respective geographical distribution of the eight class, four class, and dual organizations. Since we have seen that the eight class influence was extending southwards to the four class tribes, it is reasonable to assume that the four class system in its turn was also diffusing outwards and affecting the system of the tribes on its outer periphery. As has been pointed out, a sequence 8, 4, 2, 0 is to be noticed to the south and southeast. The progression lacks the dual step to the east and to the north, but in the first case it is to be noticed that the four class system is separated from the no-class system by the great range of mountains running north and south along the eastern coast. These seem to have acted as a geographical deterrent to an expected diffusion in this direction. Seemingly, before the dual system was able to cross the mountains, it was overtaken by the four class system which followed it into the eastern district. In respect to the sequence in the north, there are no factors of a geographical nature which might hinder a natural diffusion; therefore the barriers in this direction we may surmise to have been of a cultural nature. What these may

[21] See Spencer and Gillen, 1904, p. 277.

have been cannot be stated. However, there is still the northeast section of Arnhem Land to be investigated and it would not be surprising to find the presence of the dual grouping in this region.

One of the most important substantiations for the belief that the classes have developed out of the moieties, is the fact that the moieties exist everywhere that the class system has been reported. In addition to being found marginal to the four and eight class organizations, the dual organization exists throughout the areas they occupy, and, if we were to lift off the entire class system, we would notice that the whole continent, except for the few coastal areas mentioned before, would be included within the moiety system. The four and eight class tribes are arranged in moieties not only in camping arrangements, ceremonies, initiation rites, etc.,[22] but, as has been said before, the very classes and sub-classes themselves are divided equally between the two basic social groupings.

In respect to the continental distribution of moieties, it is important to note that, although the moieties are everywhere present, some tribes do not have names for their dichotomous groupings. That is to say that, although the names of the moieties are absent, the tribes in each instance are nevertheless divided into two moiety groups which function exactly as do those groupings in other tribes where the moiety names are present. The question arises, therefore, as to whether or not the tribes which now lack the moiety names possessed them at some former time only to lose them. Apparently, too, no memory of them has been retained. It is conceivable that these tribes could have taken over the original moiety system as a pattern without adopting some names for the moieties themselves. There are no examples of such a condition among any of the Australian tribes now organized into such a system, although it is to be noticed that in the northeastern part of the Gazelle Peninsula (New Britain) there are no names for the moieties, the people of each speak of themselves and their moiety as "we," while they designate the other moiety and its people as "they."[23]

However, let us examine the distribution of the tribes which possess moiety names and the distribution of the tribes which seemingly

[22] Ibid, p. 96.

[23] Rivers, 1914, Vol II, p. 500 et seq.

have lost them. In the first place, as far as information goes, moiety names are distributed in a very uneven manner throughout the eastern and southern parts of the continent. (See map 7.) They are possessed by all the tribes organized in a dual grouping, they are present in some tribes with the four class system, and absent in others, and this condition is also true for those with the eight class organization. Moiety names, however, are not contiguously distributed, for there appear to be several localities in the east where they are either absent or for which there is no data to show that they were present. In view of the fact that these areas are surrounded by tribes which do possess moiety names, there should be no hesitation in concluding that the names are present and have not been secured, or else that they have been present and have been lost. In respect to the southwestern part of the continent, there seem to be two localities in which moiety

MAP 7

names have been reported. Since this part of Australia is very poorly known, we may safely assume that these areas are probably connected not only with each other, but with the main area to the east of them, in which the moiety names appear.

When we come to northern Australia, we are presented with an entirely different situation, for this region has been carefully studied by Spencer and Gillen, and they state very definitely just which tribes do possess moiety names and just which ones do not. For this region there can be no possibility of an error in data to which we may ascribe any appearances of non-contiguous distribution. As the map indicates, there are two "islands" where moiety names have been recorded. These are surrounded by areas in which it is known that moiety names do not exist at the present time. Surely no one would attempt to claim that these two areas have invented moiety names separately and apart from the appearances of the latter among the great body of tribes in the east and south. They are separated from each other and from the great area of moiety names by only a few miles, and by tribes with whom there is absolute organizational identity, except for the presence of the names themselves. It seems safe to say, therefore, for this region, that in those areas which separate the tribes with moiety names from each other, and where there are no indications of the names themselves at the present time, the names once existed and have become lost.

We still have left the entire northwestern part of the continent in which there are no moiety names, but where the moiety grouping nevertheless exist. What can be our conclusion in respect to this question among them? It seems strange indeed that if the moiety names did once exist throughout this vast region, that they have everywhere disappeared without leaving even a few "island" traces of their previous existence. It may be stated that this whole region is very imperfectly known, yet, on the other hand, there has been sufficient investigation to bring to light some evidence of moiety names from somewhere within this area if they exist here. Yet, none have been discovered. To my mind some traces of moiety names should appear from some place within this region; however, it is difficult to correlate this opinion with the evidences which have been produced so far which show such a consistent lack of them. One

almost comes to the view that the moiety groupings must have been diffused to northwest Australia as a pattern without the diffusion of the names themselves. But this can hardly be reconciled with the evidence from the moiety area where names are unanimously present. Can it be that moieties and classes diffused together from Central Australia into the northwestern regions? Such a conclusion would seem improbable, for, indeed, it would be necessary to stretch our imaginations beyond all reason were we to assume that such a social grouping as the four class system, with all its complex arrangements, could be taken over by a people who were not even divided into moieties. It would seem that the first conscious efforts on the part of any group trying to adopt the four class scheme, would tend to make a primary division into two parts, especially since this is a characteristic feature of the system anyway. Certainly this system would not diffuse as four separate and distinct classes which subsequently become grouped two by two into moieties. To expect such a development would be most unreasonable in my estimation. On the other hand, as already noted, we would expect the moieties to have had at least distinctive names. Although this does not affect our problem, its solution might shed considerable light upon the question of diffusion of the moieties. However, until more data are forthcoming from the field, it seems necessary to withhold any final conclusion as to whether or not moiety names formerly existed throughout this area.

Moieties Not Indigenous to Australia

In contrast to the eight and four class systems which show from every angle of consideration that they are the result of indigenous origin and development in Australia, the distribution of the moiety system does not allow for the drawing of similar conclusions. As we have already seen, the moiety organization is present throughout Australia except for a few of the peripheral regions along the northern, eastern, and southern coasts. Moieties, however, characterize the social structure of a great many peoples among the Melanesian Islands. The question arises, therefore, as to the point of origin of this system—Australia or Melanesia.

It seems hardly possible that moieties could have originated in Australia and from there have diffused into Melanesia. If the idea

had developed in Australia, we would expect to find a more complete distribution on the continent than is to be noticed at the present time, for several marginal peoples there are still without this dual organization. Furthermore, we would expect an Australian system to have paternal descent. The time which would be required for the diffusion of this principle into Melanesia certainly should be sufficient to allow for its complete distribution on the continent. Apparently, too, the Australians have not influenced neighboring peoples in any other respects and it would seem strange if such a system as moiety organization would be the one exception. On the other hand, since the Melanesians are a more advanced people than the Australians, it does not seem peculiar to find the moiety system, which contrasted with the Australian local group organization is comparatively complex, to be a part of their social structure. Furthermore, moieties by definition, connote a unilateral reckoning of descent, and it is to be noticed that matrilineal descent is a feature of most of Melanesia[24] and northeastern Australia, the nearest region of the continent. Although matrilineal descent of the moieties and classes does occur throughout a great part of Australia, this appearance is contiguously located to the region above mentioned. However, if we divest the entire continent of its complex social covering, there is nothing which would indicate that matrilineal descent might spontaneously start there. In distinct contrast to such a possibility, all our evidence seems to show that the Australian social structure in its original state inclined toward a patrilineal system.

As has already been discussed, the characteristic, fundamental social organization of the Australians is the local group system. In a paper already mentioned, I presented evidence to show that this local group system was a ubiquitous one throughout the continent and that it appeared in its most characteristic form among the Yerkla-mining, Narranga, Narrinyeri, Kurnai, Yuin, Gringai, Chepara, and the coastal tribes of the Coburg peninsula, including the native groups of Melville and Bathurst Islands—all peripheral coastal tribes. (See map 6.) All of these tribes are devoid of both the moiety and

[24] Matrilineal descent in connection with the moiety system is almost the unanimous institution in Melanesia. The Barriai of the western end of the northern coast of New Britain, however, have the moiety system with patrilineal descent. See Rivers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 500.

class systems and represent Australian society in what appears to be its oldest and most simple form. All of the above-mentioned tribes are separated from each other by such great distances of country that it is impossible that their present social status could have resulted from convergent independent evolution. The close relationship of their organizations, however, is definitely shown when the fundamental organization of the rest of the Australian tribes is taken into account, for underlying the moiety and class system throughout the continent, as we have seen, is the local group system in its characteristic form. The identical social systems of the marginal tribes are, therefore, not isolated from each other by tremendous distances, for all are contiguously connected by the same local group system as it is found among all the intervening tribes, among whom, in addition, the more advanced social structures are to be noticed. It is only because the moieties and classes of the latter tend to conceal the importance of the underlying local group social organization that the marginal tribes appear to be separated from each other.

Now the local group system, as we already know, is characterized by patrilineal tendencies. The local groups, and their sub-divisions, the family hunting territories, are patrilocal; when information is at all detailed it is often to be noticed that they are also patronymic. Marriage generally takes place between certain reciprocating localities. Land is inherited through the male line. There is nothing about this entire aboriginal organization which would indicate for a minute that matrilineal institutions are present, ever had been known, or, left to their own resources to develop social progress and intensification, ever would become known. Such a condition is in distinct contrast to conditions as they exist in Melanesia where matrilineal institutions exist in a more intense form. We may suspect, therefore, that the concept of matrilineal descent and the pattern of moiety organization as they appear in Australia are derivatives from Melanesia; that they have penetrated to the island continent and have become superimposed upon an omnipresent local group system, the social organization of which they affected only by the adding of their own characteristics. Moieties and matrilineal descent have supplemented the local group organization, they have contrib-

uted to the social complexity of the Australians, but they have affected the original basic organization hardly at all. In spite of this important superimposition, the local group is still the characteristic institution of the continent. Just as the four class system underlies and extends beyond the eight sub-class organization, just as the moiety divisions underly and extend beyond the four class system, so the local group organization is found as a substratum of the moieties, classes and sub-classes, and, furthermore, local groups characterize all the peripheral localities in which the more complex form of social arrangement are still unknown.

It seems impossible to conceive of a set of distinct gradations in social organization anywhere else in the world which would show so emphatically such a definitely arranged stratification. In Australia the chronology is not only demonstrated correctly by the respective distributions of the various traits, but every trait has been shown to be present in vertical sequence as well. The geographical distribution theory has shown its value and logic, for it has been used to infer a chronology which we have been able to test and prove correct by the actual stratified layers of the traits concerned.

That the distributions of the moiety and class systems have each resulted from a diffusion from a single point of origin with a subsequent progressive internal development instead of through the contact of two or more entirely separate systems, which in fusing have given rise to the more complex appearances, seems to be inferable in another connection. Although our data are by no means sufficient to offer conclusive proof, it is to be noticed, as far as can be determined, that the social arrangements of all the Australian tribes seem to be completely synchronized, each one with each other. Among the eight class tribes every individual, when visiting another tribe, automatically becomes associated with a sub-class which is an equivalent of his own. This does not seem strange, since it is generally agreed that the eight class system is the result of a common origin. However, a man from a neighboring four class tribe also finds himself in a sub-class equivalent to his own class, and the same would be true if an individual from an eight class tribe visited a four class tribe. Furthermore, the same arrangements have been made for members of the moiety tribes and vice versa. In fact, it would seem that an

Australian native could go from one end of the continent to the other[25] and always find himself in a certain consistently arranged social scheme. If we were to eliminate the eight class system, the arrangement would still exist. If we also were to take out the four class system, the same result would be noticed. The line of descent seems to be entirely incidental to this arrangement, for in every instance of border tribes for which we have information, the natives have adequately solved the problem of intermarriage without destroying the social order of either tribe concerned.[26]

In view of the facts we possess, coupled with the consistency of the moiety and class systems throughout the continent, we may feel quite sure that if we were acquainted with conditions along all the borders of descent, a consistent arrangement would be found in every case. If such is true, as it seems to be, we may conclude that the entire moiety system has resulted from one origin and that it has reached its present distribution as the result of a diffusion. The same may be said for the four and eight class systems, respectively. I can see no reason for believing that the class systems have resulted from the clashing of two different moiety systems. Obviously, two systems would tend to blend into each other at their various points of contact; however, if such had happened in several different regions, we would hardly expect to find the same consistent arrangement which we do. If two different systems had met at different points we would expect to find that in one case Moiety A in one system would be considered as equivalent of Moiety X in the other, whereas,

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[25] Spencer and Gillen, 1904, p. 103, in speaking of the differences in class names say "There is certainly a remarkable variation in the names of the subclasses which are, without any doubt whatever, equivalent ones, so far as the tribal organization is concerned. A southern Arunta man of the Bulthara subclass, for example, who accompanied us right through the continent, was regarded as a Kabbidji in the Kaitish, a Tjapeltjeri in the Warramunga, a Thalaringinja in the Tjingilli, a Paliarinji in the Binbinga, a Roumburia in the Anula, and a Mumbali in the Mara tribe."

[26] Spencer and Gillen, 1904, pp. 120 et seq., have described this arrangement for intermarriage between the Arunta and the Urabunna, the first being a tribe with four classes (in the southern half) and paternal descent, the second being a tribe with the moiety system and maternal descent. A similar arrangement is to be noticed in the north where the tribes with direct descent meet the tribes with indirect descent. For the southeastern part of the continent, Howitt describes the arrangement between the Dieri and Urabunna, the Wiimbaio, the Wotjobaluk and the Kulin type of moiety systems. Ibid, pp. 90-100, 121-124, 191. See also Wallis, 1913.

at another point of contact Moiety A might be grouped with Moiety Y of the second system. Once such a grouping had been made it would be almost impossible to change it to conform with other arrangements, and great confusion would probably result. Since we notice no confusion at any place, we may conclude that our surmise tends to be correct.

CHAPTER VI

Social Organization (Continued)

Descent

Thus far in our discussion we have intentionally ignored the question of descent, for we have considered the various social groupings purely as patterns which may be accompanied by either matrilineal or patrilineal reckoning. It is now time to enter into the matter of descent itself. This subject, like the others, may also be considered separately, mother-right or father-right each constituting a phenomenon which should be considered distinctly apart from the other. The great confusion which has resulted in the past in the many attempts to explain Australian social developments is due entirely, in my estimation, to the disregard of all reason in the consideration of the two unilateral methods of reckoning descent. The question of the priority of matrilineal over patrilineal descent has long been an important topic of ethnological discussion and this has had a particular bearing upon conclusions in respect to Australia. The social evolutionists must be given the credit for so beclouding the various issues with a maze of theoretical preconceptions that self-evident facts have completely escaped observation and attention. The question of descent in Australia is one which, in connection with social phenomena, has given rise to a great proportion of the controversies waged concerning this continent. The theory of the social evolutionary school, that matrilineal descent must ex hypothesis precede patrilineal descent, is too well known to need comment. Since both methods of reckoning descent are present in Australia, the earlier students felt bound to fit these appearances into their schemes of social development. Differences in descent were considered by them as of such importance that all resonable manifestations which did not fit their theory were completely submerged. The fact that descent is figured in many different social connections in Australia was entirely overlooked. As a result, a great part of the confusion and misunderstanding of Australian social organization is due to a lack of any attempt to separate these into their various categories. The social evolutionists

have persisted in considering all of these as constituting one single phenomenon, whereas, in reality, such a conclusion cannot be reasonably supported. In the first place we have noticed that among the peripheral tribes of simple organization, there is a tendency toward a patrilineal reckoning. Patrilocality, paternal inheritance of land, and the taking of or receiving names from the father indicate a system of computing relationship. This, as we know, is common throughout the continent. It constitutes a method of descent which is perfectly natural for a people to employ. However, it should not be confused with a second type, the unilateral reckoning of descent such as we notice in the moieties, a method which the peripheral groups could not have had since they did not possess the moieties themselves. Descent within the moities is characterized by being counted in a direct line either through one parent or the other, but never through both. Thirdly, there is descent of the classes, which, as will be pointed out, is related to descent in the moieties. Here again, descent may be through the mother or through the father; nevertheless, there pointed out, is related to descent in the moieties. Here again, descent is always direct among the moieties, among the classes it is always indirect (except as noted), the child taking the complementary class or sub-class of the parent through whom the relationship is counted. Lastly, there is descent of the totemic sib, which may be counted through the father or the mother, or, as will be pointed out later, through neither.

The unproved assumption that all of these different methods and systems of reckoning descent constitute one and the same thing has been the main stumbling block of the social evolutionists. They did not seem to recognize that descent may apply to different phenomena and institutions and because of this they experienced insurmountable difficulties in their attempts to explain social development. To them there could be only two kinds of descent, matrilineal and patrilineal, and, according to their preconcepts, the former always preceded the latter in the scale of historical development.

Now, as we have already seen, there is nothing throughout the original social structure of the Australians—the local group system—which would indicate that matrilineal descent had ever been known. In fact, if we were to eliminate from Australia the moieties, classes,

and totemic sibs, leaving just the local group organization, there would be no matrilineal institutions on the continent. As a starting point in Australian history, therefore, we would have the local group system with patrilineal tendencies due to the very nature of a hunting occupation and its related economic organization. Such seems to have been the state of affairs when the moiety system infused, supposedly from Melanesia.

A moiety system, as already has been said, by definition implies the presence of a unilateral reckoning of descent. This may be through either the father or the mother, but, regardless of which, one system or the other must be present wherever there are moieties. As has been pointed out, we find both types of moiety system in Australia. The Kulin of Victoria represent the moiety system with paternal descent, while the Dieri and Urabunna of South Australia are the best known examples of the matrilineal moiety organization.

Now patrilineal descent is uncommon in Melanesia, the moieties of this entire region being almost consistently organized upon a mother-right basis. Matrilineal descent, we have reasoned, was unknown throughout aboriginal Australia before the moiety system became adopted. Since matrilineal descent is distributed throughout that area of Australia nearest to Melanesia, it logically follows that matrilineal descent was the unilateral reckoning which accompanied the diffusion of the moiety pattern from Melanesia to Australia. It is permissible to regard the matrilineally descended moiety system as it invaded Australia to constitute a complex composed of two major elements: (1) The idea of dichotomous grouping; and (2) the reckoning of descent through the maternal line.

Theoretically, a culture complex, as we have pointed out in chapter I, may be composed of elements or traits which, subsequent to their association together, may separate and diffuse independently from one another. If we will apply this idea to the complex under consideration, it follows that the concept of matrilineal descent may dissociate itself from this complex and spread as a unit to affect or become associated with other systems of other peoples. In a way, this is also true for the concept of the moieties themselves. However, it must be pointed out in this connection that since the moiety system implies a unilateral descent, the moiety idea can separate and diffuse

independently only if it becomes associated with another unilateral line of descent in substitution for the matrilineal reckoning abandoned. Such a substitute, it goes without saying, would have to be the patrilineal one. We may thus say that the matrilineal moiety complex may break up and the two main traits may diffuse independently, matrilineal descent without qualification, the moiety pattern only if a patrilineal line of descent becomes added. Why this complex should break up is another question which resolves itself into problems connected with the psychology of culture diffusion.

Matrilineal Descent

In Australia, the tribes which are organized with matrilineal descent are found in a contiguous distribution throughout the greater parts of Queensland and New South Wales, in the southwestern and western part of Victoria, in the greater part of southern South Australia and along the southern coast of West Australia. (See map 8.) Throughout this entire area of distribution, matrilineal descent is consistently found in connection with tribes having a moiety system, while among most of them, the four class organization is also to be found. In the southwestern corner of Victoria are several tribes which have been suspected of having the moiety system. This, however, has not been substantiated, for to all appearances their social system is identical with the other marginal tribes with the local group type of organization. It should be pointed out that among these people matrilineal descent is found; however, this descent is connected with the inheritance of the totemic sib, a phenomenon to be considered later. I have already pointed out that this type of unilateral reckoning should not be confused with descent of the moieties and classes.

Patrilineal Descent

In addition to the appearance of patrilineal tendencies in the peripheral tribes, descent following the male line is to be noticed among tribes which are organized into the moiety groupings, the four class system, and the eight sub-class organization. This type of patrilineality, which is so different from that of the peripheral tribes with a simple social organization, occurs in two non-contiguous distributions. The first appearance is confined to the Kulin of Victoria, among whom the moiety system is to be noticed. The other includes

MAP 8

the greater part of the central and western portions of the continent, stretching northwards from the area of the Arunta to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and occupying the rest of the continent to the west of this line. This entire region in which the tribes are organized into the four class and eight sub-class systems also possesses, as we have already seen, the fundamental moiety divisions.

Now, at first glance it would seem that these two separated instances of patrilineal descent in connection with the more complex social order, represent what remains of originally a contiguous distribution which has become bifurcated by a penetration of maternal descent. This may either replace paternal descent by means of internal change, or else it may have displaced it by external pressure, driving it back in the two directions. It must be reiterated that we are discussing patrilineal descent solely in the sense in which it is used in connection with the moieties and advance social systems.

Now a unilateral descent of this type could not exist in these regions, ex hypothesis, until after the moieties had come into use. Our assumption, therefore, that it was the invasion of moieties bringing matrilineal descent which caused a split in a patrilineal system (with moieties) and resulted in the present distributions is utterly absurd. If the two paternally descended groups were originally contiguous and have become separated by the penetration of a maternal system, moieties must have existed there. Since we have assumed that moieties originally appeared in Australia accompanied with matrilineal descent, the moiety pattern must have detached itself from this complex and must have attached to itself a patrilineal descent system in substitution for the one lost. Diffusing in this new complex, it could have occupied an area of contiguous distribution which would have connected the now separately appearing patrilineal groups. We must further assume that since we now find matrilineal descent throughout the area which divides the two patrilineal regions, that matrilineal descent later diffused into the intervening region, divesting the moiety system there of its patrilineal descent and re-establishing the original complex. Such an explanation, although within the realm of possibility, certainly offers a most far-fetched conclusion.

Although the above conclusion does not appear to be sufficiently reasonable for serious consideration, it does serve, nevertheless, to establish the logical possibility that the moiety pattern could separate itself from matrilineal descent and diffuse independently. Instead of the above assumption, it seems much more reasonable to conclude that the two areas of patrilineal descent, the Kulin on the one hand and the western tribes on the other, have resulted from a diffusion of the moiety pattern in two directions and represent an example of convergence. Why the Kulin in the southeast and the tribes in the central and western regions were both receptive to the diffusion of the moiety pattern, but rebelled at the acceptance of matrilineal descent and developed patrilineal descent instead of it, is apparently one of those unexplained puzzles so common in ethnology. I would like to emphasize the statement that both these groups developed patrilineal descent *instead of* matrilineal. They do not seem to have developed one *from* the other, for this would imply that they originally had the first system which they changed subsequently into the second. In my

opinion there is no evidence to show that there has ever been any change in the reckoning of descent in any individual tribe since the time the moieties were first accepted by it. There seems to be no valid evidence which would support the idea that once a line of descent has been established there has been a subsequent change to the other. That such a separate diffusion of the moiety pattern from its original association with matrilineal descent has taken place, as I have suggested, certainly appears plausible enough, for it seems to be well supported by theoretical reasoning, and apparently there are no facts which stand in the way of its acceptance. The reason for such a substitution in descent is apparently undiscernible, as has been stated, yet, when we pause to recall the original social structure of the local group system, which lacked entirely any matrilineal tendencies, it does not seem strange that two different Australian groups should balk at the acceptance of this radical idea of matrilineal descent. Indeed, in view of the local group system, it may be considered as surprising that matrilineal descent was accepted by any of the Australian tribes. Certainly one would not expect these people to be naturally receptive to matrilineal institutions in preference to patrilineal ones. Nevertheless, both types of descent are to be found on the continent, occurring in distributions which offer no difficulties for understanding except the one instance of the patrilineal Kulin in Victoria. According to our interpretation, their case is apparently the result of convergence in development with the patrilineal institutions in the west. We may summarize our statement of the history of the development of the moiety concept as follows: The moieties which originated in Melanesia (as far as our problem is concerned) were associated with matrilineal descent and spread in the form of a complex into Australia through Queensland by some route yet to be definitely determined. This complex spread intact throughout the greater part of eastern Australia, geographical barriers impeding its progress into some of the coastal regions. In the southeast, however, and in the central regions, although the concept of the moiety groupings was received and accepted by the respective peoples concerned, cultural forces apparently were strong enough to resist the influence of matrilineal descent which was so foreign to the Australians. Since moieties require a unilateral line of descent, the patri-

lineal line was substituted for the Melanesian system, this change taking place in the two localities where it is now noticed. Seemingly there has been no change in line of descent in any tribe since the moiety system has been adopted. The consistencies and irregularities in the distributions of the two lines of descent respectively lend adequate support to this contention.

The Four Class System

The four class system in Australia appears to be of indigenous origin. This peculiar type of social organization has caused a great deal of speculation among students who have tried to explain its psychological incentives. The question of "why" this particular system originated does not concern us here, for we are interested in considering the diffusion of the system as a pattern after it originated and became established as a social phenomenon. We have regarded the moiety organization as a culture complex composed of two main traits —the idea of dichotomy and a unilateral direct descent system.

Its seems also apparent that the four class system constitutes a complex, for it, too, is composed of various traits which are associated together. In the first place, the four class organization includes the moiety complex, which acts as a unit. Wherever the four class system is found, moieties are also present. Furthermore, the unilateral line of descent (either one) of the moiety is retained as far as the moiety itself is concerned. The moiety line of descent, in addition, establishes the line of descent which the classes are to follow. This is, indeed, an important fact, for no tribes have ever come to attention among whom the moieties follow one line of descent and the classes another. In view of this consideration, no doubt can exist as to the origin of the class system in the moiety organization.

The second main trait of the four class system is the idea of the four classes, themselves. This concept represents a form of a derivative trait which has developed in the moiety complex. Apparently, however, it would be impossible for this trait to dissociate itself from its complex and diffuse alone, for it is difficult to imagine that the Australian four class system could exist without the dual organization as a background. At any rate there are no examples of this trait having separated itself from the four class complex as we conceive it.

A third trait of the four class complex is that of indirect descent.

This, too, appears to be a derivative trait which has developed out of the moiety regime. The evidence of its derivation is that it always follows the same line of descent as the moiety. When the moiety descent is matrilineal the classes, too, are matrilineal. When the moiety descent is patrilineal, they are characterized in the same way. The concept of indirect descent is indeed a radical invention and it is a distinctive feature of the class system. It should be stated that it, like the idea of four classes, is not to be noticed in a detached condition. Its distribution, however, is less than that of the four classes, themselves, for it will be remembered that the Mara and Anula, tribes of the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, as well as some tribes of southwest Australia, are organized into the four class system, but are characterized by direct descent of the classes.

It thus seems obvious that the four class system is a development out of the moieties and that it is genetically related to the moiety organization. The fact that the moiety complex is present in the form of a trait, to which the traits peculiar to the four class complex have been added, bears this out further. It seems certain, however, that the four class complex did not diffuse as such, for the moiety foundation and the particular line of descent to be followed in each tribe, were already established in every case. Since these traits already had distribution under the moiety system, the idea of four divisions instead of two and the concept of indirect descent only were required to diffuse in order to establish the four class system in a marginal locality. The four class complex, however, followed the diffusion of these traits in the sense that it could not exist until after they became combined with the moiety complex.

The diffusion of the four class system was in no way hindered by the presence of the boundaries of maternal and paternal descent, for, as we have already seen, there was no diffusion of any specific line of descent. Instead, the idea that descent should be indirect insofar as it pertained to the classes was the concept which was diffused.

In view of the continental distribution of the four class system it might appear at first glance that this system developed in the center of the continent. Such a conclusion, however, can be neither proved nor disproved. Apparently there were many geographical and cultural barriers in the east which hindered a normal diffusion in that

direction. Up to the time of European invasion, the four class system had been unable to pass many of the mountain barriers in order to spread into some of the coastal regions. These areas are still in the hands of the simple peripheral tribes. On the other hand, this system was able to penetrate through a few passes and reach the coastal regions in some places. However, throughout the greater part of Queensland and New South Wales, the four class pattern apparently met many cultural hindrances, for in this region there are at least ten different groups of class names. These would seem to indicate that a very slow diffusion has taken place. In contrast to this condition, there are but five other sets of class names throughout the rest of the continent, and of these one is possessed by the Mara and one by the Anula, so that for the entire area of central and western Australia, there are but three different sets of class names. This condition is shown in map 9. These occupy a region approximately twice the size of that of the other twelve. Certainly we may conclude that in the western regions diffusion of the four class system

MAP 9

was comparatively rapid. Such a conclusion would indicate, too, that cultural forces in the west were in a combination to produce a greater receptiveness to the new ideas than was the case in the east.

Although no definite conclusion may be reached at present as to the place of origin of the four class complex, such is not the case in respect to the eight class system. Because of the more restricted distribution of the latter we are able to say with certainty that its place of origin is in the central part of the continent, and, furthermore, that it commenced among paternally descended peoples. This is proved by the fact that even at the present time it does not extend outside of the area of the latter. There seem to be no known cases of the eight class organization occurring among the matrilineally descended peoples. The relationship of the eight sub-class system to that of the four is very clearly shown in their identical makeups. Like the four class system, it is a complex which contains all the traits of the latter to which has been added the idea of a further division of each class into two each, so that there are eight in all. As in the four class tribes indirect descent is the rule in respect to the sub-classes. Apparently, therefore, the only change in pattern is the sub-division of the classes.

Marriage

The phenomena of marriage is generally considered as one of the most important factors in the social organization of a people. Although the social system of preliterates is often concerned with the regulation of a multitude of different social features, marriage is usually among the foremost. Since this relationship, in the broadest definition of the term, is encountered throughout the world, it is not surprising to find that it has received a great deal of attention by those who have come in contact with primitive peoples, among whom marriage has so many peculiar forms.

The question of marriage regulation in Australia is one which has not only caused most bitter discussions, but which has also given rise to a most astonishing number of theories, all of which seek to explain the origin and development of so many of the social complexities of the continent. The presence of dichotomous groupings and the peculiar development of the four and eight class systems have been considered from many different angles and have been subjected

to all kinds of explanations by various students who have tried to force these appearances into some kind of a codified hypothetical arrangement of marriage development. It may be safely said that the marriage rules of no other people in the world have received so much discussion and so little actual understanding. The great confusion which has existed in pertinence to this subject has only recently been eliminated by Brown, who has been the first to study this topic in the light of an unprejudiced viewpoint and with a lack of any preconceived opinions. Such an investigation is in distinct contrast with the methodology of the ethnologists of the last generation, for the latter were burdened with the now obsolete theories of the old social evolutionary school, the misleading principles of which they followed blindly. They devoted their efforts towards the attempt of fitting Australian appearances to their established scheme. They concentrated their attention not upon a subjective study of marriage in Australia, but rather on hypothetical explanations of the stage which they deemed Australian marriage customs should occupy in their previously arranged scheme of development of the whole phenomena of marriage, and upon an explanation of those appearances which differed from their dogmatic notions. The apparently exogamic character of the local groups, moieties, classes, sub-classes, and totemic sibs, in addition to the complicating factors of classificatory relationship and patrilineal and matrilineal descents, were given so much weight by the earlier writers in their discussions of marriage, that they completely overlooked the true significance of marriage, itself.

The real basis of marriage among the Australians, however, has been shown by Brown to be quite independent of these social features for, as a result of a subjective study of marriage itself, he has discovered that there are but two types throughout the continent. As he, himself, says,

"In all the Australian tribes about which we have detailed information marriage is regulated by relationship. In all tribes a man may only marry women who stand to him in a certain relationship of consanguinity. There are two different forms of marriage law, which I propose to speak of as Type I and Type II."[1]

[1] Brown, op. cit., p. 190.

"In tribes with a marriage law of Type I, a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, or some woman who stands to him in an equivalent relation. Where the marriage law is Type II, a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or some woman who stands to him in an equivalent relation."[2]

" . . . the marriage laws of Australian tribes are not in any way whatever affected by the existence in the tribes of two or four named divisions. Amongst tribes with the two named divisions we find Type I in the Urabunna tribe and Type II in the Dieri, Wathi-wathi and Chaap-wuurong tribes. Amongst tribes with four named divisions we find Type I in the Kariera and other tribes, and Type II in the Mardudhunera, Luritcha, and Pitta-pitta tribes, and probably in most of the tribes in New South Wales. We also find Type II in such a tribe as the Marrinyeri, which has no named divisions. Finally, even the existence of eight named divisions is not a feature on which we can lay much stress in classifying Australian tribes. It is true that wherever there are eight sub-classes the marriage must be of Type II, but exactly the same marriage rule, and an exactly similar system of relationship may be found in tribes in which the eight subclasses are not named. The fact that a tribe has two or four named divisions tells us nothing whatever about the marriage law of the tribe, which can only be ascertained by a careful study of the system of relationship."

"It may also be worth while to note, in connection with the theory that the prohibition of the marriage of first cousins (and the origin of the relationship system of Type II) is due to the change from maternal to paternal descent of the totem, that in the Kariera tribe, Type I (with the marriage of first cousins), exists together with paternal descent of the totem, and that in many tribes of New South Wales and Victoria, Type II exists together with maternal descent of the totem. The theory is therefore not supported by the facts."[3]

On the basis of Brown's discovery, we are faced with an important problem in distribution. Although facts from a greater number of tribes would be much more desirable, the information at hand seems sufficient to warrant the drawing of some significant conclusions. As is indicated on map 10, we find Type I marriage, by which a man marries a woman in the relationship of his mother's brother's

[2] Brown, op. cit., p. 191.

[3] Ibid, pp. 192-194. In respect to the supposition that Type II marriage is due to the change from maternal to paternal descent of the totem, Brown refers to Durkheim's contention, Durkheim, 1903.

daughter, occupying five[4] non-contiguous areas at or near the periphery of the continent, while Type II marriage, by which a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or a woman in a similar relationship, is located in the more central regions of the continent. It is very probable that all the appearances of Type II are contiguous to each other, although such a contiguity must be

MAP 10

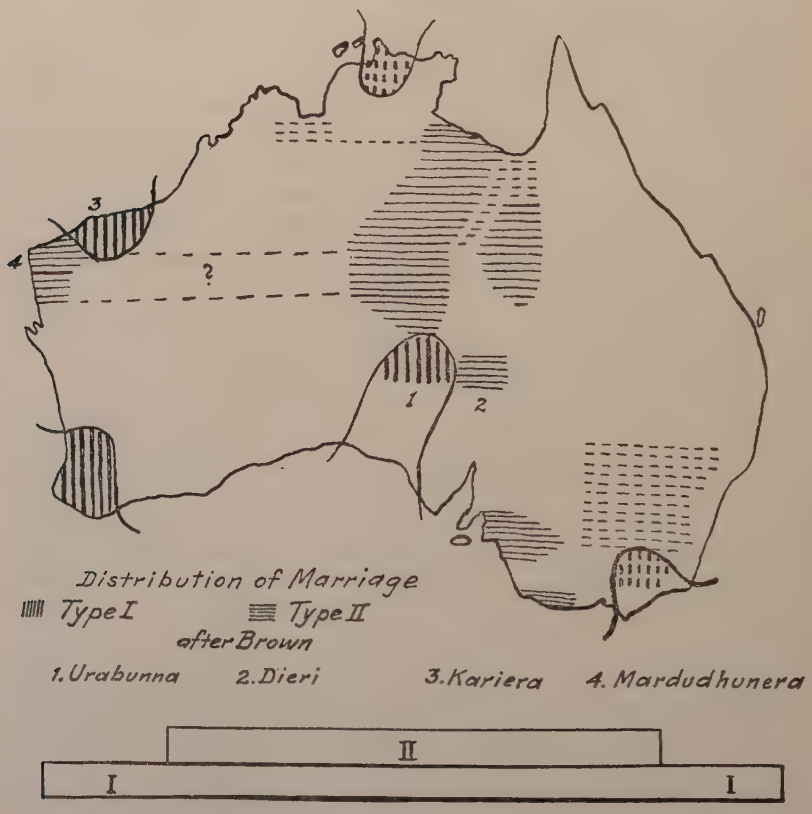

Fig. 9. Cross-section of Distribution for Marriage Types: I, Type I; II, Type II.

[4] Brown gives only four areas. I have added the region of Southwest Australia. See Frazer, 1910, p. 565 quoting Mrs. Daisy Bates. (1905-1906). It should be pointed out that under the marriage system practiced by these people, it is also allowed for a man to marry his father's sister's daughter.

inferred at the present time because of a lack of information for the intervening localities.

Now the possibility that still a third type of marriage exists in Australia seems quite unlikely; therefore, we may presume that the marriage laws of all the tribes still unknown will fall into either Type I or Type II. In all probability Type I, if found at all, should tend to appear in areas which are marginal, whereas, it is to be expected that the prevalent rule of marriage for the greater part of the continent will be Type II. It seems safe to predict, even on the basis of the present scanty information, that Type II is a more recent development than Type I, and that it has displaced the latter throughout a great area. This is indicated by the peripheral non-contiguous distribution of Type I, the appearances of which outflank the more centralized distribution of the Type II. Furthermore, the change from one rule of marriage to the other involves no very radical revamping of the social structure, for both laws require a cross cousin marriage. Under Type I, an actual cross cousin, or one regarded in the same relationship, must be married. Under Type II, only a cousin whose relationship is removed by being traced through an additional generation (the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter instead of the mother's brother's daughter) is eligible. The two systems, therefore, seem closely related and theoretically there seem to be no obstacles involved in a change from the first to the second.

We have been informed by Brown that neither type of marriage is in any way affected by the existence of maternal or paternal descent. Examples have been given to show that both Types are present regardless of line of descent. Furthermore, Type II is practiced by tribes organized in the pure local group, the moiety, four class and eight sub-class systems. Type I, on the other hand, is found among tribes with the local group, moiety and four class organizations, but is not to be noticed among people organized with the eight sub-classes, for this type of marriage cannot co-exist with such a social scheme. In other words, to state the case in its true light, the eight class system can be present only among peoples having Type II marriage. Here then is the key to the situation, for it stands to reason that in order for the eight class system to diffuse into a tribe,

the latter must already have Type II marriage. The only alternative would be to change the marriage regulations to conform to this Type.

As we have already seen, the eight class system occupies a great part of the central regions of the continent and that its influence has been spreading outwards in all directions to the four class tribes, the concept of eight sub-classes preceding in diffusion the idea of names for the four new classes. It will be remembered that this influence has traveled as far as the Mardudhunera tribe on the western coast. Now, although on the basis of present data, it seems impossible to say definitely just which type of marriage is characteristic of the tribes inhabiting the localities intervening, we may be certain that it is not Type I, for since the eight class influence has reached the Mardudhunera, it must have traversed this region. If such took place, the tribes there could not have had Type I marriage. Presumably, therefore, they must have had Type II. We may predict on this basis that when data is secured from this area, practically all of Western Australia will be found to be included within the distribution of Type II. Such a contiguous distribution certainly serves to accentuate the isolation in the peripheral regions of the few appearances of Type I.

Exogamy

It is important at this time that something be said of the apparently exogamic character of the classes, moieties, and totemic sibs as they exist in Australia. It is usually taken for granted that all of these social systems are exogamic in their own right; nevertheless, when we regard them in the light of the Australian marriage systems, some doubt arises as to the true significance of exogamy. It has been pointed out that marriage in Australia is governed entirely by relationship and that both Types I and II are found throughout the continent as fundamental institutions. Now, under the local group organization, a man is required to marry his mother's brother's daughter under Type I marriage, or his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter under Type II. This statement, however, does not explain the entire situation, for, under the local group system, furthermore, marriage is usually required to take place between individuals of certain reciprocating local groups. We have discussed the

reasons for believing that the marginal appearances represent the oldest stratum of organization, so, in connection with marriage it seems permissible to investigate the marriage regulations of the marginal peoples in order to apprehend any manifestations which may have given rise to the more complex appearances which are to be noticed in the more central regions.

The fundamental organization of the Australians seems to have been the local group system without the accompaniment of moieties, classes, and totemic sibs. In marriage, Type I seems to have been the oldest; hence we may consider Type I marriage under the local group system as a very archaic type of organization and regulation. Apparently the local group organization is fundamental throughout the continent and it is in this type of organization that we may look for any appearances which may have given rise to Type I marriage and exogamy.

One of the outstanding features of the local group system is the reciprocal nature of marriage, for usually it is found that one local group will intermarry with one or more other local groups only. As the local group is apparently the development from originally a family unit, it is not surprising to find that endogamy is prohibited among its members. Under a rule of patrilocality, another common feature of the local group system, it is not at all difficult to see that reciprocity means that the women members are the ones to change their local group affiliations and that under reciprocity, perhaps originally just a habit of going to a designated local group for a mate, a youth will look for a wife within the local group of his mother. Patrilocality, however, has forced his mother's brothers to remain at home, while her sisters, on the other hand, have married into other local groups. An available girl, therefore, would be very likely the daughter of the mother's brother, although, on the other hand, since the father's sister may have married into the particular local group in question, the girl at the same time may be the father's sister's daughter. It is possible, therefore, for the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter to be one and the same person. Under the reciprocal agreement of the local groups it is to be noticed that cross cousin marriage has a logical explanation of origin and at the same time we notice exogamy, purely and simply.

Now, in spite of the added feature of moieties, classes, and totemic sibs, the exogamic character of the local group system is present throughout the length and breadth of Australia, and the cross cousin marriage, with the further complexification into Type II marriage, is everywhere retained. Moieties, classes, and totemic sibs, therefore, can hardly be called exogamic in their own right for their connection with exogamy is purely derivative. In every case the exogamic unit is the local group which, because of the nature of its relationship to the other social institutions, imposes exogamy upon them. Until Brown's investigation, the true significance of marriage was unknown, and the importance of the local group peripheral tribes was apparently disregarded. As a result of a concentration of attention upon the tribes with a more complex organization, the question of exogamy was regarded as an inherent feature of the moieties, classes, and sibs.

In our theoretical conception of the diffusion of a culture trait or complex, we took the stand that a trait tends to diffuse indefinitely in all directions until it becomes stopped by geographical or cultural barriers. To apply this principle to the eight-class system, it becomes apparent that the main factor of a cultural nature which might actually debar the diffusion of it in any direction would be the presence of Type I marriage. A glance at map 10 indicates that such a condition has actually developed in the case of the Kariera, and that the limit of diffusion was gradually being approximated in the far north (Arnhem land) and in the south (Urabunna). The Kariera, it will be noticed, are located more toward the area of intense eight class development than their southwestern neighbors, the Mardudhunera. The latter, however, have already been influnced by the eight class system and seem to have been in the process of instituting this form of organization. The Kariera, however, although probably subject to a similar pressure from the east, could not adopt this new organization because they possessed Type I marriage. As long as they retained this marriage regulation, it would act as an effectual barrier against the extension of the eight class system in their direction.

In the case of the tribes in Arnhem land, the diffusion of the eight class system has not yet reached its limit, for, as the map indi-

cates, the four class organization is still peripheral and Type I marriage is in itself not a deterrent to the diffusion of it. Why the four class organization is seemingly being overtaken by the eight is not discernible at present; however, it seems that the former is not spreading rapidly, at least in the northern direction. Apparently, it has just about reached the northern limit of Type II marriage. If it should be overtaken by the eight class system before it, itself, spreads further northwards, then the eight class organization will have reached a barrier which as such could not be passed.

A similar condition is to be noticed in the south. The Urabunna, possessing Type I marriage, act as an eventual barrier, which will limit the diffusion of the eight class system. However, it is apparent here that although the Urabunna themselves might impede such a diffusion in a southern direction, their deterring force would be of a local nature, for the Dieri, to the east, having Type II marriage, constitute a proper avenue for a diffusion of the eight class system. The eight class system, therefore, might eventually pass around the Urabunna.

In the case of the Mara and Anula, the two tribes on the Gulf of Carpentaria, which are transitional between the four and eight class systems, diffusion of the latter seems to have been proceeding normally. Since they possess Type II marriage, it is to be supposed tha· they finally would take over the eight class system in its complete form.

At the eastern limit of the eight class system, tribes are met with with Type II marriage, but with maternal descent. It is indeed strange to notice that the boundary of paternal desecent should act as a dead line to the extension of the eight class system. Apparently it would be possible for a people to combine the three traits of Type II marriage, eight class system and maternal descent, yet this combination has not been made. At the present time I can offer no explanation.

In view of the peripheral and non-contiguous appearances of Type I marriage, which are separated by an apparent contiguous distribution of Type II marriage, it seems logical to suppose that the former once had a much larger distribution which has given way to the encroachments of Type II. This consideration is supported by the

close relationship between the two types and by the assumed ease by which the first could be changed into the second. Such a change would have been necessary among any of the tribes now organized in the eight class system, if they had formerly possessed Type I. Since Type II is widely distributed throughout the continent, appearing in many regions which seemingly have not yet felt any pressure from the eight class organization, we are not permitted to conclude that it has diffused outwards as the advanced elements of the eight class diffusion. Apparently, for the most part, it has undergone a diffusion of its own. Although it paved the way for a later diffusion of the eight class system, this was purely incidental to the latter. It is undoubtedly true, on the other hand, that in some regions of central Australia the eight class organization probably has been instrumental in forcing the diffusion of Type II marriage into those localities which were hindering its own advance because of the presence of Type I. There seems to be no direct proof for this contention, however, in view of the cultural barriers which the eight class concept seems to have but recently reached, it is not illogical to suspect that it may have had similar experiences in the past and that its present distribution has resulted only after such barriers had become eliminated by a change in the marriage laws from Type I to Type II. If this has happened in the past, we have reason to suppose that the present manifestations represent a continuance of the same conflict and that the final result would be a further displacement of Type I marriage until, eventually, it would be eliminated altogether. Here again, then, we find substantial support for the interpretation of geographical distribution in terms of culture chronology, for, as we have seen, the marginal appearances of Type I marriage seem to constitute a substratum to the more centralized and later development of Type II.

The Sib

There now remains one more feature of Australian Social organization to be considered—the totemic sib. Generally speaking, all Australian tribes[5] are characterized by the presence of clans or gentes, which serve to further complicate the social structure. The question

[5] The Chepara, Turrbal and apparently the Kurnai do not possess totemic sibs, according to reports.

of the origin and development of totemism and totemic sibs in Australia constitutes a most important problem, the solution of which has been attempted by many.[6] In spite of the lengthy discussions which have been waged, however, it must be said that we seem to be no nearer to a definite conclusion today than at any former time. The bibliography connected with this question in Australia alone is indeed imposing, yet, the many disputes appear to have added more toward a further confusion rather than toward any clarification of the issues involved. It seems that the whole question of Australian totemism should be reconsidered from an entirely different point of view and without prejudice either to the already propounded theories, which offer no satisfactory explanations, or to the conclusions reached for other regions of the world. The theories which have been developed in the course of the long controversy have been used as a basis for interpreting the evidences subsequently secured. New data from various regions have been forcefully fitted to the old theories instead of being viewed in their own light. The obsolete theories have been constantly applied to the recently acquired information in spite of the apparentcy that they offered no conclusion compatible with the facts, and, as a result, all reason and logic seem to have become buried under an avalanche of confusion. It seems apparent, since such a multitude of factors are involved in any attempt to untangle the many snarls in totemic theory, that it is quite impossible to go into any detailed discussion within the scope of this paper, for Australian totemism is a subject with so many ramifications that it should be treated in a monograph devoted to it alone.

As far as our own particular problem is concerned, however, it does seem possible to throw some light upon the question of the relative antiquity of the totemic sibs and the class system. Furthermore, the probable influence of the totemic organization upon the local group system in the central regions may be indicated in a general way.

Because of the obvious differences between the totemic and purely social organizations, which have been discussed, it seems superfluous to state that there is no common ground to allow for a comparison based on their respective geographical distributions. In order to

[6] Cf. Goldenweiser, 1910. A discussion of the various theories will be found in this work.

determine the relative chronology between the two, therefore, we must resort to means other than the geographical distribution theory.

As a general rule, totemic sibs are found to be distributed between the moieties of a tribe. This division, by which one is to be found in one moiety, but not in the other, gives them an exogamous appearance because of the marriage laws of Types I and II, for potential mates cannot possibly belong to the same totem. As has been stated above, the totemic sibs are derivatively exogamous. Among the tribes organized in the four and eight class systems, the totemic sibs are again found to be distributed between the moieties with the exception of a small group of tribes in north central Australia where they are distributed between the pairs of sub-classes.[7] With this exception the rule seems to hold true.

The question arises as to the relative antiquity of the class and totemic systems. It seems quite evident, however, that the totemic groupings are older than the classes, for, with the exceptions above noted, the same totemic sibs are to be noticed as present in every class of a moiety. For instance, Goldenweiser[8] has demonstrated their relationship as follows:

Moiety System (Dieri, etc.)

Moieties	I	II
Totemic Sibs	a	d
	b	e
	c	f

Four Class System (Kamilaroi, etc.)

Moieties	I		II	
Classes	A	B	C	D
Totemic Sibs	$a = a_1 + a_2$		$d_1 + d_2 = d$	
	$b = b_1 + b_2$		$e_1 + e_2 = e$	
	$c = c_1 + c_2$		$f_1 + f_2 = f$	

Eight Class System (Warramunga, etc.)

Moieties	I				II			
Classes	A		B		C		D	
Sub-classes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Totemic Sibs	$a = a_1 + a_2 + a_3 + a_4$				$d_1 + d_2 + d_3 + d_4 = d$			
	$b = b_1 + b_2 + b_3 + b_4$				$e_1 + e_2 + e_3 + e_4 = e$			
	$c = c_1 + c_2 + c_3 + c_4$				$f_1 + f_2 + f_3 + f_4 = f$			

[7] Spencer, 1914, p. 179.
[8] Goldenweiser, 1922, pp. 110-112.

The above diagrams serve to demonstrate that the totemic sibs have been associated with the moieties during the whole course of their development into the more complex four class and eight sub-class systems. If it had been otherwise, we would certainly not expect to find such a consistent arrangement on a moiety basis. Furthermore, if the totemic sibs represent a later development, it is impossible to explain why we find such a consistent arrangement between the moieties, for it would be perfectly possible for them to be distributed between the sub-classes in the eight class tribes and between the four classes in the four class tribes without changing their characteristics of derivative exogamy.

In regard to the relative antiquity between the totemic sibs and the moieties, it seems impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion, although it appears to me that the totemic sibs are undoubtedly older.[9] As I have pointed out, we cannot infer any relative antiquity by a comparison of their respective distributions, so the fact that the totemic sibs outflank the area of the moieties in several regions is in itself insignificant. On the other hand, the totemic sibs may have been developed at a later time than the moieties and, since the two are not comparable, they may have diffused at a faster rate, which has carried them over and beyond the limits of the latter. This hypothesis would explain their presence among the Yerkla-mining, Narranga, Narrinyeri, southwestern Victoria tribes, Yuin and the local group peoples of Melville and Bathurst Islands and the coastal area of the Northern Territory.

However, such a conclusion is unlikely for the existence of totemic sibs in Australia before the appearance there of the dichotomous groupings would apparently in no way hinder the development of the family system into the arrangement we now find. The marriage rules of Types I and II automatically place the totemic sibs into certain relationships which would not be impaired by the subsequent addition of the moieties. Although I hesitate at this stage of my investigation from stating a definite opinion of this point, I believe it is safe to infer the probable greater antiquity of the totemic sibs. Why or how they came into use cannot even be intimated. We may

[9] Morgan, L. H., 1877, p. 49 et seq., was of the opinion that the gentile organization represents a "higher" and therefore a "later" form of social development than the classes. See also Morgan, L. H., 1871, p. 420 et seq.

tentatively place the time of their birth, invention, importation, or whatever it was, as some time following the local group system and before the diffusion of the moieties. Investigation, however, may disprove this contention for certain parts of Australia. Generally speaking, however, this point should hold true and the sibs may be found to be products of the simple family organization in Australia. The local group system would seem to have a natural inclination toward eventually developing a sib system. This is a manifestation of extreme importance, as Lowie has pointed out in reference to similar tendencies in North America.[10]

If we will now turn our attention to that part of the continent for which the family hunting territories have been denied—that region extending from central Australia as far as the northwest coast—it is to be noticed that it is in the eastern part of this region that we find a peculiar development in the arrangement of the totems. Although normal totemic sibs appear throughout eastern and western Australia, there is a considerable area in the central part of the continent where endogamy is permitted within a totemic sib. In other words, since the classes and moieties are intact, it follows that a sib, by virtue of endogamy, is no longer restricted to one-half of the tribe. It is no longer exogamous even in a derivative sense. Endogamy, on the other hand, is not a rule in this area, but represents the result of the probable change in the method of reckoning membership in the sib from a unilateral line (patrilineal in this area) into a non-unilateral arrangement. Under this system, a child assumes membership in a totemic sib solely through artificial means. The geographical location of the mother at the time she first notices herself pregnant is the determining factor in establishing the totemic sib of the child, for in each local group there is some natural feature such as a waterhole, rock pile, tree stump, and so on, which marks the place where a certain spiritual (Alcheringa) ancestor dwells. Conception, according to these central tribes, results from a spirit child entering a woman as she passes one of these Alcheringa ancestor abodes, and so totemism in this region has come to be designated as conceptual totemism. The local group may be designated as a local totemic group.

[10] Lowie, 1919.

Now we have seen cause for believing that the family hunting territory was once a feature of the central tribes. It may be then that the development of conceptual totemism has caused its degeneration. In central Australia, the distribution of conceptual totemism coincides quite closely with the area for which the family hunting territories have been denied. On the northwest coast, on the other hand, the family plots seem to have degenerated, although here the totemic sibs are still regular in the sense that they are inherited in a unilateral (patrilineal) line. We know from several different sources, however, that this area was undergoing pressure from the central regions, so that it is possible that the degeneration in the family plots within the local groups may be the forerunner of the diffusion into this region of conceptual totemism. At the present time it would seem that conceptual totemism, occupying a restricted distribution in the center of the continent, being flanked on the east and west by identical conditions in totemic sib arrangement and organization, represents a more recent development in Australian totemism.

Let us surmise the possible effects of the development of conceptual totemism of the central Australian type in an area organized into family hunting territories and unilaterally descended sibs. Under such a system with patrilocal residence and with patrilineal descent of the totem, all the male members and the unmarried girls of each local group would have to belong to the same totemic sib. Only the wives, who come from other local groups, would belong to different totems. If then the idea develops that spirit children emanating from certain geographical features of the landscape should determine conception and membership in the sib, it seems logical to believe that each family unit would still retain the same totemic affiliation as long as the women conceived their children upon the local group plot. Conceptual totemism, therefore, could exist at the same time and place as the family hunting territory, and in practice there would be no noticeable differences in the actual working out of the normal scheme. Because of the presence of the eight class system and Type II marriage, a man, in marrying his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, would still marry a girl in an entirely different totemic sib.

A change, however, would be bound to come once a woman noticed

herself pregnant while visiting a neighboring local group. Since, in all probability, these people would belong to a different totemic sib, having their own Alcheringa ancestor abode on their territory, and since the idea of spiritual conception would hold true at any place, the child born would naturally be placed in the totemic sib of the foreign region. This affiliation would be retained by a child throughout its life. If a boy, he would eventually marry and bring his wife to the land of his father, the land which contained the abode of an Alcheringa ancestor totally different from his own. If his mother happened to become pregnant within the totemic area where her mother's brother's daughter lived, and if the female child of the latter (the boy's potential wife under Type II marriage) was conceived at home, that is, within the totemic area of her own father, both the boy and the girl would belong to the same totem. However, since they are potential mates, under the eight class system and Type II marriage, they would belong to opposite moieties and to the proper sub-classes, respectively, and, therefore, the same totemic sib would be found to appear within both moieties of the tribe. For the case at hand, the marriage would require endogamy in respect to the totem.

Such a condition is precisely what we find in central Australia, and the facts strongly suggest that we have correctly inferred the past development into the present appearances. It is to be noticed that even now, each totemic sib is confined almost entirely to one moiety of the tribe, appearing only sporadically and occasionally within the other. For instance, Spencer and Gillen tell us that:

"Whilst every now and then we come across traditions, according to which . . . the totem is common to all classes, we always find that in each totem one moiety of the tribe predominates, and that, according to tradition, many of the groups of ancestral individuals consisted originally of men or women or of both men and women who all belonged to one moiety."

"At the present day no totem is confined to either moiety of the tribe, but in each local centre we always find a great predominance of one moiety. . . ."[11]

If my hypothesis is eventually established, it will settle two important questions. First, it will prove the existence in past times of the family hunting territory in the central regions, as we have already

[11] 1899, p. 120.

inferred by the geographical distribution method. Secondly, it will prove that conceptual totemism in the central regions is a recent development, an advanced condition which has progressed from a previously normal unilaterally descended totemic sib organization.[12] This point, too, is intimated by the respective distributions of conceptual totemism, with a restricted centralized distribution, and the normal totemic groupings which appear to be peripherally located to the former.

It is not difficult to comprehend the influence which conceptual totemism might have upon the concept of family hunting territories. The idea of a totemic center in each local group, in which the spiritual and ceremonial life of the local group would tend to concentrate, certainly would not aid in the retention of the individuality of each family. It is more than likely that a spirit of local group consciousness would develop, and this, in turn, as it became more and more intensified, might finally cause a complete deterioration of family land ownership.[13] There is a possibility that natural conditions of this region are not conducive to the existence of family plots. No one, however, has attempted to prove this point. It is reasonable to believe, nevertheless, that if conditions were favorable to local group territories, they would also permit the existence of family holdings. It may be pointed out further, in respect to this region, that the local groups are very sparsely populated, forty individuals constituting the greatest population of any.[14] Since the average family consists of from four to five persons, the number of families in each local group would probably vary between five and eight. Furthermore, since all these are related through the paternal line, the local totemic group is hardly more than a large family. With the close fellowship resulting from association in a small group, to which has been added all the force of spiritual solidarity as expressed in philosophy, religious rites and ceremonies, it really is not strange to notice the absence of lesser subdivisions which might in any way interfere with the local totemic group unity.

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[12] Frazer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 162 et seq., Vol. 1, p. 272 et seq., and Vol. 4, page 265 maintains that the conceptual totemism of Central Australia represents the most primitive type of sib organization.

[13] See Davidson, 1928.

[14] Spencer and Gillen, 1899, p. 9.

Conclusions

By way of a summary of the foregoing discussions, I believe that the evidence has been sufficient in itself to establish the validity of the Geographical Distribution method of determining cultural stratification. As we have seen in our study of a few important continental Australian traits, the distributions have been so regular in every case that there can be no doubt concerning the conclusions reached, at least in so far as the Australian history of each trait is concerned. That is, admitting for the moment that some of the traits, for instance, subincision, did originate outside of the continent and in some unknown manner did diffuse into the central regions, the history of development and diffusion as we have noticed it in each case holds true at least since the time the trait reached Central Australia. In every instance we have found the centers of distribution to be characterized by intensity and complexity, whereas, simplicity or a lack of development were always approximated in the peripheral regions. On the other hand, it has been noticed that when the distribution indicated considerable distortion, as for instance that of matrilineal descent, we have seen reason to believe that the trait was not an indigenous one to Australia, and we have supported this contention by showing that its Australian distribution was contiguous to its distribution in other regions. As far as the Australian traits were concerned it has been noticed that they were distributed in such a manner that there was no contiguity with similar appearances in any other region.

Aside from the importance which the Geographical Distribution method assumes as the result of our studies, the findings which we have made imply a great many other consequences which formerly could not have been foreseen. For instance, subincision, circumcision, et cetera, are known to appear in other regions as has already been mentioned. From a theoretical point of view there can be no objections if one suspects that there may be a possible genetic relationship when a trait appears in two or more entirely separated localities. To support such a contention, however, one must first prove that the two appearances are identical. Just an assumption of relationships is insufficient. Secondly, the contender must present facts which will indicate that there has been some historical connection between the two or

more regions. It is to be admitted that in a great many cases direct proof is almost impossible to obtain, nevertheless, indirect proof should be available in substitution.

Now as far as our Australian material is concerned, we have seen that there were no grounds for connecting subincision with the similar appearances of that operation in Fiji and South America. This conclusion, of course, will not be accepted by all, for some diffusionists will undoubtedly maintain, perhaps rightly, that there is a historical relationship between subincision in Australia and subincision in Fiji. To my mind, the burden of proof is on their shoulders and the same may be said for the other traits concerned. Any one who propounds a theory of connection must uncover facts which will demonstrate how subincision, to retain the same example, could reach Central Australia without leaving traces along the coastal regions. My conclusion that convergence is to be held accountable for the appearances in question may or may not be accepted, nevertheless, I believe that all will agree that our geographical study has proved that Central Australia is the center of culture intensification and development of this trait in addition to many others, regardless of the point of origin of each. That is, admitting for the moment that subincision may have come into Australia from elsewhere, the evidence is sufficient to show that its greatest development was subsequent to its arrival in Central Australia. In other words, its development in so far as Australia is concerned, has been accurately indicated by the geographical method. The same conclusions, in my opinion, hold true for the other traits.

If we will still assume that these traits are not indigenous to Australia but were brought into the continent, we are faced with the problem of explaining why they have left no traces of such a diffusion, but to the contrary, have left only evidence that they did not so diffuse. We have seen that there are no data except similarity in appearance, to allow for the assumption that there are genetic affinities. However, in view of the possibility that some may still maintain that there must be a historical connection it seems necessary to consider their claims.

In order to connect the Australian appearances of a trait with the appearances in some other region, we must assume that there has

been either a diffusion from people to people or that there has been a migration of people who carried the trait or traits with them. In the first case, we would naturally expect a considerable lapse of time for the spreading of a trait over great distances. The factors of time and distance would also require that each trait be accepted in its intense form and assimilated thoroughly before it was passed on to the next group. If the trait undergoes any important changes or diffuses in a different form than that in which we see it today in the two or more separate regions concerned, convergence becomes ex hypothesis the explanation for the similarities observed at the present time. However, if we eliminate this factor and assume a consistent diffusion from group to group, the elements of time and distance would certainly require such an assimilation by each group that some traces of its existance should be discernible in at least a few intermediate areas. We have been able to find none of these indications if they exist. Therefore, it would seem that we can dispose of diffusion as the explanation of the similarities between Central Australia and other regions. The alternative possibility is that a migration of people may have carried the traits concerned into Central Australia.

In respect to a migration, it might be found necessary to eliminate the factor of time, for a people may move very quickly and thus leave but few traces of this migration and these may become lost. To establish a rational theory of migration, however, we meet with more difficulties than we did in assuming a diffusion. In the first place the Australians have no migration legends. Although this should not be considered as proof that migrations have not taken place, such an absence indicates to my mind that if there was a migration of the type with which we are concerned, it must have been very ancient. However, if the migration was ancient, then we are forced to believe that the traits which appear to be of very recent development in Australia, are in reality, as old as any of the others suspected of being of foreign lineage. Here again, such a conclusion is contrary to all appearances, facts and reasoning. On the other hand, if the migration was recent, we should expect to find some tradition of it among some tribes, and furthermore, we should expect to find some traces of it along the avenue of march. Once again, as we already know, we have no evidence in substantiation.

That the Australians are racially of mixed derivation is now accepted by everyone. No comment, therefore, seems necessary. The modern Australians, however, are physically so homogeneous that they may be spoken of as a distinct race. The amount of time which must have elapsed in order to account for such a homogeneity of type must run into the thousands and thousands of years. It seems hardly possible to assign such a great antiquity to the culture traits in question and so we may conclude that they were not parts of the culture possessed by either of the two (or more) original racial stocks. If a migration is to be held accountable for their appearance in Central Australia, therefore, it must have been a comparatively recent one and if such has been the case we should expect to find evidence of the physical influence of the migrant group. Some may insist, however, that this hypothetical group of invaders may have been numerically so few that they would leave no evidence of their physical type. If the migrating group was composed of only a few members it is certainly difficult to believe that they could penetrate the hundreds of miles of territory between the coastal regions and the center of the continent without loosing their cultural identity. We may also wonder as to why an invading group would push on into the heart of the continent when the coastal country would probably serve their ends just as well.

The evidence which we have surveyed seems to adequately point out that there has been a time interval between the succession of the different Australian traits. This means, herefore, that the latter probably arrived in Central Australia, if they are not indigenous, at different times. However, if they came in sucession it follows that there must have been several migrations, each bringing with it one or more traits. Now, if one is to assume several migrations, it is necessary to explain why each and every one lead to the same region, that is, to Central Australia. Why, it may be asked, did not some of the invaders remain on the coast, or penetrate into the continent in different directions? All these questions must be answered if one is to maintain a theory of multiple migrations.

On the other hand, some may insist that there has been only one migration which brought into Australia the different culture traits. It would be impossible, however, to correlate the chronology which

we have seen to exist, with a theory of one migration bringing all the stratified elements at one time. A migration, too, would break down our entire chronology for it could not help but disrupt the local group organization which we have seen to be so fundamental to the whole continent. Any migration which came subsequently to the establishment of the local group system would certainly cause a disturbance in the latter along the route traversed. It cannot be maintained that the migrants also possessed the local group system for if this were the case they would not have migrated. Migration is strictly contrary to the psychology of all Australian natives who possess this system of land tenure. To assume that the advanced social features of any kind have been carried into Central Australia since the formation of the local group system would be contrary to all evidence and logic. Since this type of organization seems to be the foundation of the Australian social system, unanimously present throughout the continent, undisturbed by other social features, it seems necessary to believe that no migrations have been made in Australia since it became established.

We are faced with the same conclusions in respect to intiation rites. Subincision, I am convinced, could not have been carried into Australia since circumcision began to diffuse into its present distribution. For the same reason it seems that circumcision could not have entered the continent since tooth evulsion became such a widely distributed rite.

In view of the chronology we have established for social traits and initiation rites, I believe that a whole new set of explanations are required to solve the many problems of Australian culture origins. Certainly the theories of the past do not fit the facts and unless they become considerably modified they must be discarded or they must refute the conclusions which we have drawn.

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